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IDF soldier slain in ambush IAF stages raid over S. Lebanon

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
and MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporters

TEL AVIV. — Israel Air Force jets yesterday bombed and strafed two buildings and an artillery position near Bhamdoun.

An Israeli soldier was killed in a terrorist ambush northeast of Nabatiya in Southern Lebanon.

The five-minute IAF raid was carried out early yesterday afternoon by four jets. Lebanese radio stations reported. The Druze radio station, Voice of the Mountain, said the raid coincided with artillery shelling of Bhamdoun by the Lebanese Army.

Two bombing and strafing runs were directed at two buildings in Bhamdoun that served as terrorist headquarters and bases, the IDF spokesman said. A military source told *The Jerusalem Post* the IDF believed they were used by men of Abu Musa's Fatah faction.

The raid was also directed at an artillery position northeast of near-by al-Mansuriya. The position housed a 130mm cannon capable of hitting IDF troops south of the Awali.

All planes returned safely to base, the Israel Defence Forces spokesman reported.

The Israeli soldier, Tural (private) Natan Sharafi, 19, of Rishon Le-Zion, was killed at about 8:30 a.m. yesterday when terrorists ambushed a three-vehicle IDF patrol about eight kilometres northeast of Nabatiya, near the village of Aramta. A squad of terrorists hiding in a roadside orchard opened fire with light weapons and a bazooka, mortally wounding Sharafi. No other soldiers were hit.

IDF reinforcements arrived at the scene and searched the area for the attackers.

The road connects Nabatiya and Jezzine. The attack took place where a string of Shi'ite villages ends and a group of Christian villages begins. This area has generally been quiet in the past, but recently has been the scene of several terrorist attacks.

Sharafi's funeral is to take place today at 11:30 a.m. in the military section of Rishon LeZion cemetery. There were two other attacks on the IDF in Southern Lebanon

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Saudi peace mediator relays Syrian proposals to Jemayel

BEIRUT (AP). — Saudi mediator Rafik Hariri was expected in Damascus last night with Lebanese President Amin Jemayel's reply to Syria's counter proposals to the eight-point plan accepted by Jemayel a week ago.

Meanwhile, Moslem units of the Lebanese Army began patrolling West Beirut yesterday, under an agreement reached with Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri.

Jemayel and his foreign minister, Elie Salame, held a six-hour overnight conference with Hariri on the latest proposals for ending the fighting, palace sources said.

The latest plan was devised during talks in Damascus earlier this week between Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz and Syrian President Hafez Assad. The Saudi ambassador to Washington, Prince Bandar, and

Hariri were assigned to try to bring the plan into effect, the sources said.

According to government sources, the plan calls for scrapping the agreement with Israel and reconvening a Lebanese national reconciliation conference in Switzerland to draft an agreement for the equal sharing of power between Christians and Moslems in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, Moslem units of the Lebanese Army began patrolling mostly Moslem West Beirut yesterday, as Shi'ite and Druze militiamen who seized control of the Moslem half of the capital four weeks ago gave up their checkpoints and guardposts.

Police said 15 Lebanese civilians were killed and 48 wounded by overnight shelling in and around Beirut.

Navon hints at return to politics

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Former president Yitzhak Navon again triggered speculation in the Labour Party regarding his political intentions, when he hinted on Wednesday that he may return to the political arena in two months.

Navon's decision is of particular interest to Labour insiders, who expect the suicide of Ya'acov Levinson to greatly escalate internal party battles, including the long rivalry for the leadership between party chairman Shimon Peres and former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

If this happens, calls to replace both Peres and Rabin with Navon as party leader are likely to increase.

Navon generated renewed interest in his plans in Haifa on



Wednesday night, when he said that he would not make his decision known for another two months, when he will have been out of office for a year. Navon stressed that he had imposed a six-month-to-a-year cooling-off period on himself.

The possibility that Navon may decide to re-enter politics has created some trepidation in the Peres camp, although it is still believed he would not do so at Peres' expense and would not challenge him for the party leadership.



Ya'acov Levinson (Auerbach)

U.S. official: Embassy must stay in TA

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — A senior State Department official yesterday told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Israeli governments over the years never really made the transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem a big issue in American-Israeli relations.

The official, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger, made the point during his testimony against pending legislation in the Senate and House to force the Reagan administration to move the embassy.

Eagleburger said this issue "never ranked high in our discussions" with Israel. The U.S.-Israeli relationship, he added, has managed to thrive for nearly 36 years, despite the fact that the U.S. has kept its embassy in Tel Aviv.

Only two countries — Zaire and Costa Rica — have their embassies in Jerusalem.

Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, the chief sponsor of the bill to move the U.S. Embassy, told the panel yesterday: "Jerusalem is and will remain the capital of Israel. And our refusal to acknowledge this causes pain and concern in an embattled and beleaguered democratic friend."

Eagleburger reaffirmed support for an undivided Jerusalem, but insisted that the final status of the city should be left to negotiations.

"Moving the embassy would inevitably convey a message that the U.S. accepted the position of one party to the issue, when, in fact, a resolution of that issue — that is, a resolution of the issue that can stand the test of time — can only be found in the framework of a final settlement reached through negotiations," he said.

"I am told, although I find it hard to credit, that some have argued that in retaining our embassy in Tel Aviv we raise doubts concerning American recognition of Israel as a sovereign state. That argues in the face of too many years of history to be taken seriously. The U.S. and Israel have, since 1948, shared a special relationship, special closeness — if you will — that is known as such throughout the world. There cannot be any doubt about their commitment to Israel."

The Jerusalem bill has sparked intense interest in Washington in recent weeks. The administration is deeply embarrassed by the entire matter, concerned that it could further damage U.S. interests in the Arab world.

Levinson suicide and accusing letter set off shock waves

Labour fears fall-out

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Ya'acov Levinson's suicide left the Labour Party disconcerted, anxious and fearful of a round of internal recriminations and insinuations which could damage its public standing.

Some Labour members predicted suicide would open a Pandora's box for the party. Others hoped that it would tighten the lid on the box by ending the potentially damaging investigations.

But near-frantic consultations yesterday morning established an official party line maintaining that the entire affair has no connection with the Labour Party. This line was adopted after telephone conversations with party chairman Shimon Peres, now in the U.S., who said: "This is not a party matter, but a question for the entire Israeli society."

Levinson was one of the most powerful figures in Labour through his position in Bank Hapoalim, and was rumoured to have played an important role in financing party operations.

The Levinson affair and Levinson's power and influence recalled to many Labour minds the 1976 affairs involving housing minister Avraham Ofer and the

party's candidate for governor of the Bank of Israel, Asher Yadin. Ofer took his own life in a manner reminiscent of Levinson's suicide.

The fear in Labour is that the Levinson affair will damage the party's public image as the earlier affairs are thought to have done, and that the party will be tainted by allegations and investigations of corruption in the Histadrut and its holding company, Hevrat Ha'ovdim.

Knesset Member Uzi Baram, one of the Labour politicians closest to Levinson, commented yesterday: "We cannot blame the Likud here. This is an internal Hevrat Ha'ovdim and Labour matter."

In the Labour Party Political Bureau yesterday afternoon there were loud demands for a full investigation of the affair and for an exhaustive review of the degree to which the Labour Party controls the Histadrut and Hevrat Ha'ovdim. The demands were that Labour tighten its control over the Histadrut considerably.

It is feared in Labour that one almost certain outcome of the affair will be a drastic escalation of battles for control over the Histadrut and Hevrat Ha'ovdim and an intensification of demands for a change

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Gazit: My colleagues and I acted as we were obliged to

Jerusalem Post Staff

Giora Gazit, board chairman and general manager of Bank Hapoalim, reacted to the suicide of Ya'acov Levinson with this statement:

"We were at Bank Hapoalim are stunned by this tragic event. Of course, it is difficult to issue a factual reply (at this time) and this is also not the time to refer to things that Ya'acov wrote in his last letter. I want to say only one sentence: To the best of our knowledge and our conscience, my colleagues and I acted during the entire affair as we were obliged to act in line with our public obligations and our responsibilities to our organization, even if

this was both difficult and painful to us."

Following are some points made in the letter left by Levinson. Its full text appears on page 3.

"For some years now they have been drinking my blood drop by drop and now they are drinking it in gulches. The person serving as chairman of the board of Bank Hapoalim told me a number of times: 'They want you under a marble slab'..."

"The gang embracing those lordling it at the bank and those to whom they are responsible diligently spun a web of lies that has entangled me forever in murderous fashion, while they are already busy dividing up the spoils."

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The suicide of Labour Party financier Ya'acov Levinson yesterday was the climax of a year-long power struggle within Bank Hapoalim that sent shock waves through the leadership of the Labour Party.

His death will not halt the police inquiry into alleged irregularities during his reign as chairman of the Bank Hapoalim-owned New York-based Ampal investment company.

Levinson, former chairman of Bank Hapoalim's board of directors, was found dead by his wife Nurit on the balcony of their Ramat Gan apartment yesterday morning. He was 52.

Near the body was a Beretta 9mm. pistol and a suicide note. A neighbour heard the sound of a shot at around midnight on Wednesday.

Levinson's suicide note accuses present Bank Hapoalim board chairman Giora Gazit of telling Levinson that "people want to see you under a slab of marble." In the note, which refers to a "gang" that sought to "plot" against him, Levinson denies all wrongdoing.

After Nurit Levinson discovered the body, she contacted her husband's lawyer, Bar Association chairman David Libai, who called the police. Libai later read the suicide note out to reporters and said that in the light of discussions he and lawyer Ya'acov Ne'eman had held with Levinson, he was convinced that Levinson's "hands were clean."

Levinson's widow has declared that she doesn't want Gazit, Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel, Hevrat Ha'ovdim chairman Danny Rosolio and Moshe Olenik.

a member of Bank Hapoalim's board of directors, to attend today's funeral. The funeral will take place at 2:30 p.m. at Kibbutz Tzora, near Beit Shemesh. Levinson's body will be interred alongside that of his close friend, Musa Harif.

Bank Hapoalim's board of management convened for a memorial meeting yesterday. Afterwards Gazit issued a statement saying that while any comments so soon after the suicide were inappropriate, he was convinced that his actions (in setting the investigation into motion last year) were done with a clear conscience... and for our public responsibility."

On Wednesday police announced that the national fraud squad, under Tat-Nitzav Binjamin Siegel, was about to start examining the Levinson file, passed on to it by Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir.

Journalist Ari Avner probably

THE LEVINSON AFFAIR

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the last person to speak with Levinson before the midnight suicide, said that it was this police announcement that set into motion the turbulent feelings that led to Levinson's suicide.

Avner is writing a book about the Levinson affair and was with the financier on Wednesday night discussing the investigation. According to Avner, who was interviewed last night on television, Levinson named Meshel and Rosolio as what Levinson would later describe in his suicide note as "the gang" trying to frame him.

According to Avner, Levinson said that he would be unable "to

(Continued on back page)

Red Cross sees Israeli PoWs in Syria

GENEVA (JTA). — The International Red Cross (IRC) said yesterday that its representatives visited the three Israeli prisoners held in Syria on Monday.

A Red Cross spokesman said that a doctor was included among the visitors and that the prisoners' condition was satisfactory.

The IRC representatives gave letters to the prisoners from their

families and took letters for the families.

The last visit to the prisoners was on December 31. No reason was given for the nearly two-month gap between the two visits. In the past, the Syrians allowed the Red Cross to visit the prisoners every month.

The two prisoners held by Ahmed Jibril's terrorist group were last visited in November.

NEWS BACKGROUND/Robert Rosenberg

Burg bypasses Zamir on rabbis' bill

Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg has bypassed the attorney-general and put on the cabinet agenda a bill that would answer the Who is a Jew question to the satisfaction of the country's most Orthodox communities.

The proposed Rabbinical Courts Law would prevent the High Court of Justice from intervening in an appeal against any decision by rabbinical courts, which would be given exclusive jurisdiction over the definition of who is a Jew. The bill

lays down that all matters of personal status, for "both permanent and temporary residents of Israel" — including tourists and diplomats — shall be within the purview of the rabbinical courts, with no recourse for appeal to the High Court of Justice.

"Marriage, divorce, death, alimony, child custody, property rights" — would all be subject to the "exclusive jurisdiction" of the rabbinical courts, "with no appeal," the bill says.

Critics of the bill, such as Tel Aviv University law professor Baruch Bracha, note that because the bill gives the rabbinical courts the exclusive right to define who is a Jew, it places the answer to the question in the hands of the Orthodox.

Also according to the proposed law, even if only one party to a case is Jewish, the rabbinical courts would have sole jurisdiction.

Bracha also notes that because the bill nullifies in Israel any mar-

riage not contracted in a religious ceremony, thousands of Soviet olim married in civil ceremonies in the Soviet Union could find their marriages annulled by the rabbinical courts.

Also nullified in Israel would be marriages solemnized in Cyprus and Mexico by those seeking to avoid rabbinical restrictions on certain marriages.

The preamble to the bill, written by Dr. Haim Hefetz, legal adviser to

(Continued on page 3)

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ELIE TAMMAN
and participate in the sorrow of
Madame Renée Gaon and the Tamman family.

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AMSTERDAM	0	32	6	43
BRUSSELS	1	30	6	41
COLOGNE	2	30	6	41
FRANKFURT	1	34	7	45
GENEVA	2	26	6	43
HELSINKI	10	14	4	25
HONG KONG	18	64	25	77
LOS ANGELES	15	50	27	81
LONDON	6	42	14	57
MADRID	3	37	5	41
MILAN	3	27	10	50
MONTREAL	-5	23	2	36
NEW YORK	7	19	11	52
PARIS	4	38	6	43
PORTLAND	21	70	37	99
SAN FRANCISCO	20	68	36	98
STOCKHOLM	2	26	9	48
TOKYO	1	34	8	46
ZURICH	2	28	2	36
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Fair

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	16	8-17	18
Golan	39	8-16	14
Nahariya	—	—	19
Haifa Port	68	11-17	18
Tiberias	41	6-22	23
Nazareth	43	8-20	21
Afula	47	4-20	21
Shomron	23	8-19	20
Tel Aviv	58	8-19	19
B-G Airport	30	5-22	23
Jericho	23	5-24	25
Gaza	64	10-18	19
BeerSheva	25	4-20	21
Lal	18	11-24	25

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Former chief-of-staff Raphael Eitan will be the guest speaker at the Haifa Engineers Club at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone 674583.

Bank of Israel official remanded

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The assistant director of the Bank of Israel's state-loans administration, Moshe Gilad, will remain in jail until March 1, at which time the prosecution's request to hold him until the end of his trial will be heard.

This was decided yesterday by Tel Aviv Magistrate Court Judge David Wallach, in answer to the prosecution's request to extend his remand. Gilad, 48, of Holon, has been charged with fraud, forgery and betraying public trust.

Tel Aviv District Attorney Amnon Rodet told the court that Gilad exploited his position at the Bank of Israel during the past year to accept money fraudulently from private individuals in exchange for state loans under preferred conditions.

Gilad did so knowing that the bank does not issue such loans, the prosecutor said. Gilad, arrested last week, is suspected of fraud under aggravated circumstances involving some IS48 million.

HOME NEWS

Peres pays tribute to 'brilliant economist'

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres, reacting to Ya'acov Levinson's suicide, said yesterday that it should raise the general question "whether there is no other way left in our society for a man to defend his honour."

Peres issued a statement paying tribute to Levinson in the U.S., where he is now visiting. "Something in our lifestyle urgently needs correction," Peres said in his statement.

He described Levinson as a "brilliant economist by Israeli or any other standards. He demanded of himself and others not only unending diligence but also loyalty to the line they adopted. His powers of concentration, his analytical abilities and his energy all found expression in the many projects he headed."

Peres said Levinson had found himself between an important future and an abyss full of unproven charges.

In a radio interview with Kol Yisrael's Washington correspondent last night, Peres said that the matter was "in no way a party affair."

This is also the line adopted by Labour secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev, who maintained: "There is no direct connection between the party and the Levinson affair. Levinson was a party member and many party leaders were his close friends, but the party has no connection with the affair and with the matter under investigation."

When he later addressed the Labour political bureau, Bar-Lev said, "It was because of Levinson's talent that Hevrat Ha'ovdim and Bank Hapoalim have become what they have."

He continued: "We are not investigators or judges, but the note Levinson left is very grave. We will not deal with the matter today. I will only note that the two Hevrat Ha'ovdim investigators have concluded that there is no personal guilt by Levinson."

Former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin said: "I also faced an unpleasantness, but a man must stand up to his fate."

Former finance minister Yoram Aridor of Herut praised Levinson's contributions to the country's economy and said that "the suicide in no way should be seen as any sort of an admission of guilt. It only in-

dictates what a witch hunt can do and how a person is affected when his friends and closest allies suddenly desert him and leave him to face adversity all alone.

Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, also of Herut, blamed the news media "and their cruelty for what led Levinson to take his life. He was slaughtered in public. They took a man who should have been presumed innocent and pushed him into a tragic corner. This is a social tragedy and I am going to demand urgent legislation forbidding the publication of suspects' names before formal charges are brought against them."

But Liberal Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir expressed astonishment at Zipori's statement, saying: "There was no justification for blaming the media. The way the present libel laws stand, slanderers are immune from prosecution. The law must be changed."

Ben Ravinovich, Hevrat Ha'ovdim Director of Operations, said, "We are deeply shocked and grieved by the news of the tragic death of Levinson. His contributions to the Histadrut economy and to Bank Hapoalim were enormous."

Interviewed by Israel Television at Ben-Gurion Airport on his return from the German Federal Republic last night, Hevrat Ha'ovdim chairman Danny Rosolio said about Levinson's death: "We are shocked. It is time for deep soul-searching in the movement."

Asked to comment on the allegations in the letter left by Levinson, Rosolio said: "It would be inhuman and uncivilized to comment in this time of mourning."

Wolf Blitzer adds from Washington: Levinson was mourned by close personal friends and business associates in the American Jewish community.

"I'm heartbroken about it," said Lawrence Weinberg of Los Angeles, a nationally known Jewish leader and investor in Ampal. Weinberg rejected accusations that Levinson had been involved in any improper or illegal activities. "I know he was innocent."

He said Levinson's suicide was a "tragedy for Israel" because "He was one of the best. He cared about Israel and its economy. He was a rare Israeli in that he was part of the old tradition, trying to do for the country and the ideal. I wish there were more people like him."

'Ha'olam Hazeh' to continue 'exposing Levinson affair'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Uri Avnery, editor of the weekly, *Ha'olam Hazeh*, which broke the Levinson story early last month, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday:

"We are continuing to publish everything we know on the Levinson affair. The public's right to know about the activities of a personality in such a prominent position in public life, who handled public funds, takes precedence over any personal sorrow we here at *Ha'olam Hazeh* feel. Our investigation was never based on personal reasons or anything of this sort."

Avnery maintained that "Levinson was given every chance to defend himself. After we published the first article — the first of seven, and they are continuing — we held two meetings. The first was initiated by *Davar* Editor Hanna Zemer. Both were very cordial, and we gave him every opportunity to deny the charges we had already

brought in our paper, and which we planned to bring. But he answered in the vaguest terms, and brought forward no facts to refute our charges. Often his answers were ridiculous."

Moreover, Avnery said, "Levinson was a man of means and position. He had financial resources, and he could employ the best legal talent in the country. He could have used the pages of *Davar* (the Histadrut daily) to present his own case. But he preferred not to. This is an eloquent answer in itself. An innocent man does not commit suicide. He had a strong personality."

He thought that Levinson might himself have personally benefited from financial manipulations. Avnery also mounted an investigation years ago against Avraham Ofer, then minister of housing, who also committed suicide. Avnery said he was convinced that Ofer had not benefited personally, but had only served his party.



A policeman stands guard yesterday at the Ramat Gan apartment building where Ya'acov Levinson lived. (Andre Brummann)

Price war looks likely on Tel Aviv-New York route

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Transamerica Airlines yesterday opened a price war on the New York-Tel Aviv route.

Transamerica's European sales manager Jack Dondi told a news conference here that his airline's fare on the Israel route will be at least \$100 less than that of any other line. The company will be represented here by Maof Airlines.

But Tower Air (the successor to Metro International) announced yesterday that it would adjust its prices "to the lowest price set by any company flying to New York in the coming season."

El Al made it clear yesterday that it would also reduce prices, to retain its 50 per cent share of the traffic on this, its most important route.

El Al spokesman Nahman Kleiman said yesterday: "We'll continue our policy of lower prices in order to bring more tourists to the country."

Once El Al reduces prices TWA will be under pressure to follow suit.

However, TWA's senior representative here, Edward Frankfurt, is reluctant to do so. "I'm not in a hurry," he told *The Jerusalem Post*. He maintained there is no need to decide now on reducing summer prices. "I don't think we ought to throw away our goods that cheaply. Prices are already very low," he said.

Transamerica, which will begin flying here twice weekly in June, said that during the first fortnight of operations its fare for a round-trip ticket will be \$699.

After June 18, the fare will rise by between \$100 and \$200 depending on the type of the ticket. Other carriers plan price increases too.

Dondi said Transamerica can offer low prices because it operates more economically. It has relatively few employees and some are sent on leave during the winter.

Zipori: Post Office plans special-delivery service

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Post Office will inaugurate on May 1 a speedy special-delivery service to be priced "at one quarter the cost" of taxi or Egged delivery, Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori told a news conference here yesterday.

Letters handed in before 10 a.m. will be delivered the same day anywhere in the country. After 10 a.m. letters will be delivered next morning.

On the problems of public telephones, Zipori said half of them are always out of order due to vandalism. Moreover, 50 per cent of all calls made by pay phones are not paid for, with callers using every conceivable method to cheat the post office out of its due revenue, Zipori said. "We are developing a new generation of phones to outwit

the cheats, but they'll no doubt find ways of outwitting our new phones," he said.

The minister also said that as a result of a request by Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel, he has ordered that mobile telephones be brought to the port for every big Sixth Fleet visit.

Maccabi loses

SARAJEVO (AP). — Bosna Sarajevu beat Maccabi Tel Aviv 90-85 here last night shattering its chances of qualifying for the final playoff. The halftime score was 50-47.

Maccabi's strategy was to keep possession for as long as possible and to dampen Bosna's aggressiveness with long 30-second offensive plays. Maccabi was close to gaining an upper hand but then centre Aulcie Perry fouled out in the 32nd minute and Bosna finally took control.

Cohen-Orgad comes under tough criticism in Herut

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad last night faced vociferous criticism from Herut over his economic policy.

One of the sharpest attacks in the party's central committee was launched by Ya'acov Shamai, leader of the Likud faction in the Histadrut.

Shamai argued that the Treasury ought to have been more generous to the workers when incomes were seriously eroded. Last October, when prices went up by 21 per cent

— "you should have said: 'I'll pay up, immediately,'" Shamai said with applause.

Electricity bills rose to IS17,000 for two months, Shamai continued. "When someone earns IS30,000 to 40,000 a month, what is left to bring home?"

But industrialist Ernst Wodack called for backing the minister. "If he succeeds — we succeed. If he fails — we fail. The conditions (for success are) unity, perseverance and support in this tough road," he declared.

Peres tells Shultz: Israel should pull back unilaterally

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Opposition leader Shimon Peres yesterday told Secretary of State George Shultz that Israel should unilaterally implement the May 17 troop withdrawal agreement with Lebanon.

Peres was said to have acknowledged during the 90-minute meeting at the State Department that Syria was not about to leave Lebanon. But he repeated the Labour Party position that Israel could still take steps to reduce its involvement in Lebanon.

Shultz was accompanied by special Middle East envoy Donald Rumsfeld. Peres was joined by Ambassador Meir Rosenne and other Israeli Embassy officials.

Lebanon was clearly the major item on the agenda during the Peres-Shultz meeting. It followed President Ronald Reagan's Wednesday evening news conference in which the President suggested that U.S. Marines might return to Lebanon. If doing so "could improve the possibility of carrying out their mission" to assist President Amin Gemayel in gaining control of the country.

Britain renews MFO participation

CAIRO (AP). — Britain has decided to renew for another year its participation in the Sinai Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), which polices the Egyptian-Israeli border, a British Embassy spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the decision was conveyed by Ambassador Michael Weir to State Minister for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali at a meeting yesterday.

Foreign Ministry officials said Britain was the first of 11 nations contributing troops and command officers to the 3,600-man MFO to agree officially to a one-year renewal effective next April.

Kinneret pumping awaits report on fire

TIBERIAS. — The Mekorot national water company will not pump water from the Kinneret until the condition of its pumping station there is satisfactory, following Wednesday's fire.

Three Mekorot workers were injured fighting the fire and one is still hospitalized in serious condition.

Company experts yesterday began examining the station, which

contains three pumping units, each of which consists of two pumps and their motors. One of the units was damaged in the fire, which was caused by an electrical short circuit.

If the other two units are found to be damaged as well, it will be some time before normal pumping can be resumed. The damaged pumping station, the largest in the country, pumps water from the national carrier south to the rest of the country.

Hammer condemns beating of Arabs

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer this week sharply condemned incidents in which youths on Civil Guard duty mistreated Arabs. He was commenting on several such cases reported recently in the centre of the country.

Hammer said he was especially saddened that such things could occur among a nation which has known what it means to be a persecuted minority. Insensitivity strikes a blow against our history and our society, he said, and must be dealt with in all possible ways.

Syrian-Soviet talks next week in Moscow

Top-level Syrian delegations will be visiting Moscow next week for bilateral talks.

Monitored by trim, the agency said a military delegation will be headed by Defence Minister Mustafa Tlass, and a diplomatic team will be led by Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam.

CONFERENCE. — Thousands of Hungarian-speaking Jews are to gather in Jerusalem in July for a conference to mark the 40th anniversary of the deportation of Hungarian Jewry by the German. The conference, whose chairman will be nuclear physicist Edward Teller, is to be held under the auspices of the World Federation of Hungarian-speaking Jews.

The Directorate of the Israel Branch of The World Sephardi Federation mourns the death of

ELIE J. TAMMAN

and offers condolences to the Tamman and Gaon Families.

מי יתן ולא תוסיתו לדאבה עזר

Aharon Uzan
President

A year has passed since the passing of my dear husband, my dear brother, our father, and grandfather

BEZALEL ELIAV (Liebling)

A memorial service will be held on Monday, February 27, 1984 (24 Arar Aleph), at the Har Hamenuhot Cemetery, Jerusalem. We shall meet at the cemetery entrance at 3.30 p.m.

The Family

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of our beloved

LYNDA LIFSCHITZ

after a long illness on Thursday, February 23, 1984.

Maccabi Lifschitz and family

On Sunday, February 26, 1984, the thirtieth day after the passing of our dear

CARMELA (Camelia) NOAM

there will be a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone at 4 p.m. in the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.

We shall meet at the gate.

The Family

Sanhedria Children's Home mourns the passing of

JENNY FINK

devoted friend and supporter and expresses sincere condolences to the Fink and Hochstein Families

המקום יסוח אתכם בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים

With deep sorrow, we announce the sudden death of our beloved brother

Dr. ISIDORO FABI

formerly Fabiskiewicz, from Bielsko, Sao Paulo who passed away on February 22, 1984. His body is bequeathed to science.

B'nai B'rith Lodge, Haboneh Hazioni (1898), Tel Aviv

The Board of Directors of Ampal-American Israel Corporation and all staff and employees

mourn the tragic and untimely loss of their former chairman

YA'ACOV LEVINSON

a builder of Israel and its basic economy He will be sorely missed by all of us.

The Board extends heartfelt sympathy to the family.

Florence and Ralph Cohen

bow their heads in profound grief at the tragic loss of one of Israel's most brilliant sons

YA'ACOV LEVINSON

and extend their deepest and heartfelt condolences to

Nurit and sons.

May his memory be eternally blessed.

Background to the Levinson Affair



Bank Hapoalim head Giora Gazit, a central figure in the Levinson Affair.

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
and MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporters

What began as an internal Bank Hapoalim investigation, resulting from a power struggle at its uppermost levels, will continue as a police inquiry, in spite of the suicide of the leading protagonist in the case — Ya'acov Levinson, the Labour Party's financial wizard.

His suicide came less than 24 hours after the police made clear that their inquiry into what had become known by early January as the Levinson Affair was only in its infancy. Indeed, barely an hour after the suicide was made public yesterday morning, senior police sources emphasized the inquiry into "hundreds of documents" describing "immensely complicated financial transactions" would continue until it is determined whether criminal charges should be pressed.

The police investigation began two weeks ago with the arrival at police headquarters in Jerusalem of boxes of documents gathered during an internal Bank Hapoalim investigation. The internal probe began because of allegations by the bank's chief executive officer,

Giora Gazit, about Levinson and the former head of the bank's foreign exchange division, Haim Bergstein.

Ironically, it was Levinson as chairman of the board of Bank Hapoalim, who first brought Gazit into the bank's top management position in 1981, when Levinson quit the chairmanship and went to New York to give his full attention to Ampal, a 43-year-old investment company specializing in attracting foreign investors to Israel. It was founded by Haim Ha'ovdim, the Histadrut holding company.

Gazit's allegations were first used against Levinson in March 1983 as a defence by Gazit when several members of the bank's board of directors appeared — apparently at Levinson's instigation — on the verge of seeking to limit Gazit's powers. According to Gazit, Levinson sought to wrest control of Ampal from Bank Hapoalim by manipulating the New York-based company's stock values and through possibly illegal purchases of Bank Hapoalim assets.

In 1982 suspicions of irregularities began to surface about Levinson, but it was only close to the end of 1982 that sufficient information had been accumulated to merit the questioning of Levinson and Bergstein, then a joint managing-director and head of Hapoalim's international activities.

In April 1983, Danny Rosolio was appointed secretary-general of Haim Ha'ovdim (replacing Moshe Bercovici, who had suffered a stroke).

On hearing of the suspicions, Rosolio initiated the investigation. Levinson (and Bergstein) were given the names of several bank directors, and asked to choose any three to carry out the investigation. However, Levinson selected only two, Shraga Rothman, director-

general of Solel Boneh, and Amiram Sivan, director-general of Teus, which runs several Histadrut factories. Both Rothman and Sivan had worked with Levinson for years, and Sivan was a close personal friend.

Rothman and Sivan began their investigations, which lasted 10 months. The investigation was not continuous however, for during these 10 months Rothman's wife died, and later Rothman had to undergo surgery for a heart ailment. The investigation was halted for more than three months.

Their investigation was apparently not quick enough for some people familiar with the facts in the case. According to the *Ha'olam Hazeq* weekly, which in early January first broke the story of the inquiry, in mid-summer anonymous letters reached the leaders of the Labour Party alleging misdoings by Levinson and Bergstein.

The letters, combined with the slow progress of the Sivan-Rothman inquiry, prompted pressure on Levinson to step down as chairman of Ampal, and in mid-August 1983, reports to that effect were made public. Levinson did step down in September.

However, the existence of the investigation still remained secret. Later Rosolio was to say that the secrecy was to protect Levinson's good name, at least as long as the possibility that Levinson was being "framed" existed. And the inquiry continued.

At least five separate incidents were investigated:

The unexplained disappearance of about half a million dollars that should have reached Bank Hapoalim from various sources.

The rise in price of Ampal shares in the U.S. within two years, from 80 cents a share to about \$7 a share. "Someone" made millions of dollars by this manipulation.

At the time, Ampal shares were traded over-the-counter. Later they were traded on the American Stock Exchange.

The swift rise in price of Ampal shares, without any reasonable explanation, aroused the suspicions of the Securities Exchange Commission in the U.S., which is still investigating the matter. At the same time, Bank Hapoalim engaged the services of a prestigious New York firm of lawyers (Rosenman, Collin, Freund, Lewis & Cohen) to look into the matter. Their investigation is continuing.

An "unidentified body" bought these Ampal shares when their price was low and sold them at the higher price, some of them to Bank Hapoalim.

Hapoalim's outlet in Switzerland provided this same "unidentified body" with banking services at a price far far lower than the usual fees charged.

Bank Hapoalim had an option to buy 4.7 per cent of the equity of Granite (the holding company of Sonol and Supergas) for \$18,000. The bank, for some unknown reason, never took up this option, but a company called USI (registered in Delaware) did buy these shares and one year later sold them for \$1.5 million. At the time this transaction took place Levinson was president of USI and director-general of Ampal, which implied a distinct conflict of interest.

Most troubling to the Haim Ha'ovdim leadership, including Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel, however, was that neither Levinson nor Bergstein was prepared to answer specific questions about some of the transactions under inquiry.

Both men pleaded that the traditions of bank-agreement secrecy prevented them from providing details.

Indeed, until yesterday morning,

Levinson never publicly answered any of the specific allegations made against him, including those of manipulating Ampal shares, defrauding Bank Hapoalim by using his influence to make cheap purchases, funneling funds to the Labour Party, or personal gain.

After hearing all the evidence against Levinson and Bergstein, both Rothman and Sivan reported they differed slightly in their approach but not in their final joint conclusion that "no satisfactory explanation" to the "grave irregularities" had been produced.

They reported this orally both to the board of directors of Bank Hapoalim and to Danny Rosolio.

They did not write a written report summing up their findings, however, but did dictate their findings to an outside lawyer, Amihud Ben-Porath, who wrote a protocol of their statements. Both Rothman and Sivan signed the protocol.

The *Ha'olam Hazeq* articles prompted a spate of articles in other newspapers, and shortly after Rothman and Sivan signed the minutes of their report to the lawyer, Rosolio decided to transfer the entire matter to Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir.

But even before Zamir received the material, a remarkable pair of articles appeared in the Histadrut-owned *Davar* newspaper.

On January 30, an article quoting "sources close to Gazit" portrayed him as a bitter man, feeling that Levinson had manipulated him into a corner, spreading word that "from a super manager" Gazit had been turned into a "complete failure." It was in that *Davar* article that it first became known that in March 1983, Gazit faced an attempted "coup" inside Bank Hapoalim, in which Levinson forces sought to establish a managerial steering committee.

Four members of the Board of directors were called into Gazit's

office in March 1983 and told by the chief executive officer that he had material that pointed to "apparent crimes by Levinson and Bergstein," the *Davar* article said. It went on to mention, inter alia, that one of the four board directors, Eitan Avnion, the chairman of Haysneh, was related to Bergstein.

The next day Levinson broke his silence, using the pages of *Davar* to defend himself.

Levinson began that defence by announcing that he would not discuss any of the specific details being transferred to the attorney-general.

However, in an impassioned 22-paragraph statement, quoted verbatim and in full by *Davar*, Levinson went on to defend his actions as having been for the sake of the bank, Ampal, and the country. He vigorously denied that he had made any personal gain from any of the financial transactions he was alleged to have made, and denied equally vigorously owning shares in any company other than Bank Hapoalim.

He detailed his decision-making process leading to his move from the top job at Bank Hapoalim to Ampal, lashed out at the "sources-close-to-Gazit" style of reporting of the investigation, and charged that he had not been given enough time to study the minutes of the Rothman-Sivan inquiry.

Furthermore, Levinson said that USI — the company he headed at the same time as heading Ampal, and which allegedly served as a conduit for the illegal financing of projects to the detriment of Bank Hapoalim — had been set up with Bank Hapoalim's blessing.

Levinson's statement in *Davar* was the last time he spoke publicly on the issue.

However, he held several long meetings with his lawyers — David Libai, the head of the Israel Bar

Association, and Ya'acov Ne'eman, who was Chaim Herzog's law partner until Herzog became president and Finance Ministry director-general under Yigael Hertz.

Levinson's suicide note, while attacking an unnamed "gang" inside the Histadrut-owned bank and companies, did not specifically name the reasons for the suicide. But two events took place this week that police sources suggested might have been the last straw for Levinson.

The first was the publication of another article in the *Ha'olam Hazeq* series on the Levinson Affair. The article, which reprinted the anonymous letter sent out to the Labour Party leadership in mid-1983, stated baldly that not only did the Labour Party leadership know of the internal bank scandal, but that a key protector for Levinson was, ironically, then finance minister Yoram Aridor. According to the article, former premier Menachem Begin instructed Aridor not to make an issue of the Levinson affair because of Levinson's role in helping to save the Tel Hai Fund, a Herut movement fund that went broke in the early 1970s, and which Levinson saved by providing guarantor notes.

The other event, 24 hours later, was the police announcement reiterating that their inquiry, which actually began two weeks earlier, was still in its infancy, and that it would be some time before it could be determined whether a full-fledged criminal investigation would be necessary.

And even before the newspapers were on the streets yesterday morning with that report, Levinson took his life.

I've run out of strength to bear it'

The following is the full text, translated, of the letter left by Ya'acov Levinson:

"In just a little while it will all be over, because I have run out of strength to bear this campaign of calumny and degradation.

"For some years now they have been drinking my blood drop by drop, and now they are drinking it in gulches. The person serving as chairman of the board of Bank Hapoalim told me a number of times: 'They want you under a marble slab.' He told this to at least one more person, and his kibbutz friend expressed it in similar terms to other people. The urge to live prevented me from understanding.

"Now, in reviewing developments and from conversations with friends, it has finally become clear to me: they simply will not lay off me. For if I am not proved to have committed 'crimes' and to have been an 'incompetent' manager, they will have to give an account of themselves. And calumny will be piled upon calumny till the end of time.

"The gang embracing those lording it at the bank and those to whom they are responsible diligently spun a web of lies that has entangled me forever in murderous fashion, while they are already busy dividing up the spoils. For every calumny that I refute, new calumnies will be hurled at me with sanctimonious eye-rolling, and I will have to spend the rest of my life refuting calumnies right down to the grave. That would be a life without meaning and without purpose, a life that could not possibly replace the life of work and building to which I have been accustomed.

"In all my years in the youth movement, on the kibbutz, and in the Labour institutions, my guiding concept was the general interest. It seems that I am living in a world that is no more. All those who participated in the great construction epic for reasons of power and by shamming, have gradually emerged and revealed a reality which no one alive can change, a horrifying reality. The magnificent idea of a workers' economy to which I devoted my life has given way

to vested interest and a pinnacle of intrigue and ugliness.

"I have no illusions. When I go, that gang will become stronger. The life instinct of all of them, including friends of mine, will dictate putting all the blame on me, and my whole lifetime of creation and building will be turned into offal. My very going will be interpreted by those at the top as a 'confession' of a guilt that does not exist at all. My whole contribution is gradually being transformed into mud. And in the future they will no doubt come up with more 'evidence,' which I will not be able to refute, because I will no longer be here.

"I am sorry that the humiliation has become more than I can endure and that I have run out of strength to fight the filth. I feel utterly ashamed before all my friends and loved ones. I know well that I am disappointing many good and true people.

"I especially apologize to my children for the fact that their father lacked the stamina to continue the struggle to prove my utter and absolute innocence and to prove that throughout his entire life he gave and built with clean hands to which not a single public agonist stuck. I hope that all my loved ones will learn to take good care of themselves and beware of poseurs of every variety. When stock is taken of my personal goods and when all the investigations have been concluded, it will become clear what a murderous campaign of vested interest was waged here and prevailed.

"I hope that someone of that small number of people who know the truth will reveal how accomplices to this conspiracy were bribed and persuaded, and how this special gang made its appearance in the Histadrut-owned Labour Movement — not for the purpose of revenge, but in order to prevent this sort of thing from recurring. I am ashamed of being weak, but I have run out of strength. I hope that my loved ones and friends will forgive me, and that my friends will see to it that my loved ones do not know want. I am sorry, but life has lost its meaning for me."

(Signed) Ya'acov



After the Burial, a painting created by an unknown artist in about 1780, is among the priceless Judaica items in the Czech State Collections.

Petition wants Judaica items from Czechs

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

An American-based campaign is trying to collect one million signatures to persuade the Czech government to donate or lend to Israel some of the priceless Judaica items plundered by the Nazis throughout Europe and now housed in the Czech State Collections.

Rabbi Rubin Dobin of Miami Beach, Florida, chairman of the American Anti-Nazi Association and initiator of the campaign, plans to visit Prague this summer to present the petition to the Czech authorities.

About 350 of the collection's 145,000 items are touring the U.S. from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, the items will be taken to New York, Miami, New Orleans, Detroit, San Diego and Hartford before being returned to Prague at the end of the year.

Dobin told *The Jerusalem Post* that the massive collection of Judaica was meant by the Germans to be exhibited in Berlin in a

"Museum of an Extinct People." It was rescued and sent to Prague, where it has been catalogued and carefully preserved. Only a few items are on display at any one time in the State Museum there.

Those interested in signing the petition should write to him at POB 6100, Miami Beach, Florida, 33106.

Farmer 'police' to stop vegetable smuggling

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Jewish settlers in the Jordan Rift area are organizing a citizens police unit to crack down on Arab farmers in the area who are smuggling their agricultural produce into Israel.

An official of the Vegetable Production and Marketing Board (VPMB), which controls the movement of vegetables from the farmers to the markets, said the unit will be empowered to stop, check and even confiscate vegetable shipments entering Israel. The unit is being established on an experimental basis, he said.

Though it is difficult to assess how many smuggled vegetables are being sold in Israel, VPMB officials estimate that they account for about 30 per cent of the market.

These vegetables, grown without any controls, are ruining the Jewish farmers who cultivate according to

quotas and seasonal plans. When these unplanned vegetables enter the market, the prices of the planned vegetables plummet.

The Jewish farmers in the Jordan Rift, who have been hardest hit by these smuggled vegetables, initiated the idea of the unit to protect their livelihoods.

Simha Offer, managing director of the VPMB, said that besides the unplanned vegetables that are flooding the market, there are bumper crops of local vegetables because of the hot and dry autumn and winter. Especially abundant now are tomatoes. Over the autumn and winter about 400 tons of surplus tomatoes were sent to processing plants, and another 5,000 tons were either destroyed or fed to animals.

Offer also fears that next summer farmers will plant less vegetables. He explained that because of the dry winter, many farmers have

RABBIS' BILL

(Continued from Page One)

The Religious Affairs Ministry, says its purpose is "to correct erosions" of the original Rabbinical Courts Law of 1953. Those erosions, writes Hefetz, were caused by "especially notorious interpretations" of the law by the High Court.

The bill was first circulated for ministerial comment last December. Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir then asked Burg to allow time for comment and revisions, but Burg ignored Zamir and brought the law to the Ministerial Committee on Legislation, where it now awaits discussion.

Because it has already reached the cabinet, the Justice Ministry spokesman has refused to comment on it. But *The Post* has learned that there is deep dissatisfaction with the bill among the Justice Ministry's professional staff. In effect, the bill could divert the country's highest out of any authority in matters that profoundly affect almost every individual in the country.

Furthermore, *The Post* has learned, Justice Minister Moshe Aloni promised Knesset Member

permit the law to be tabled before Zamir and other ministry professionals had a chance to review it. But soon after that promise was made, the bill was put on the cabinet agenda, even though it has not yet been discussed.

The original Rabbinical Courts Law of 1953 was the result of a coalition crisis following the marriage of a Cohen (member of the priestly caste) to a divorced woman in a civil ceremony. The ceremony was legal then because British Mandatory law enabling individuals to marry outside the religious courts was still in effect. The 1953 law, legislated under prime minister Moshe Sharett — and to his personal dismay — gave the religious courts exclusive authority in matters of personal status. However, as Hefetz noted in the preamble, in the years that followed, the secular courts sought to limit the rabbinical courts' jurisdiction.

The proposed law's preamble also says that the purpose of the legislation is to fulfill coalition promises

made to the religious parties.

But according to some Knesset observers, if the bill reaches the Knesset — which would most probably be as the result of a coalition crisis initiated by one of the religious parties — its majority would come from defecting Alignment members.

The bill's opponents could probably count on the support of such Likud mavericks as Liberals Dror Zeigerman and Yitzhak Berman. But some opposition members, such as Labour MK Rabbi Menachem Hacohen, would probably join the coalition in a vote on the law.

Meanwhile, the Religious Affairs Ministry has admitted in a statement to the Knesset subcommittee on the courts that at least two thirds of the rabbinical-court rabbis have no secular education, or have not passed the "bagrut" matriculation examinations.

Moreover, *The Post* has learned that thousands of rabbinical-court actions may be illegal under the original Rabbinical Courts Law of 1953, because fewer than three rabbis sat in judgment on the case. According to the 1953 law, all rabbinical-court cases must be heard before a panel of three judges.

But hundreds, if not thousands, of cases have been heard before panels in which one or two of the assigned rabbis was missing. Those decisions could all be considered void if an appeal on one of them is brought to the High Court, legal authorities at the Knesset and Justice Ministry told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Sharir calls for a 'tourist patrol'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The state has no means of controlling the loss of millions of dollars to the Treasury through kickbacks in the tourist industry, Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir said yesterday.

Sharir made the statement in pressing for the rapid institution of a "tourist patrol" to try to curb illegal practices. He was speaking to the members of the Knesset Finance Committee, who had gathered at the Dead Sea to examine the Tourism Ministry budget. Members of the committee called for an increase in tourism marketing and public relations abroad.

Avrushmi remanded until the end of his trial

Yona Avrushmi, accused of the murder of Emil Grunzweig, was yesterday ordered detained until the end of his trial.

The trial is due to open at Jerusalem District Court on March 27.

Avrushmi's lawyers Yair Golan and Aharon Bruchin did not oppose the remand. They said, however, that after all the evidence against Avrushmi had been examined, they might appeal the decision. (Itim)

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pany AG, Poststrasse 14,
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The army Haddad left behind

YA'ACOV FRIEDLER takes a close look at the Free Lebanese Army and finds a surprising development in the few weeks since the death of Major Sa'ad Haddad.



BY ONE OF those quirks of fate, the Free Lebanese Army, the small force the late Major Sa'ad Haddad formed in the south of Lebanon, along the Israeli border, in 1976, never flourished as it has done since his death.

As a result of the fierce fighting in the Beirut area, resulting in the virtual collapse of the Lebanese Army, hundreds of young men from the south, and not Christians alone, have been coming to the Haddad headquarters in Marjayoun, to enlist in the force.

Since the major's death, on January 14, 500 young men have been enlisted, Seren Menahem, the spokesman for the IDF's unit for aid to civilians at Marjayoun, told *The Jerusalem Post* there this week. In other words, in one month, it has had as many volunteers as during all the years it was headed by the major.

The very critical period following Haddad's death has thus shown that the fear, voiced in some quarters that the FLA would not survive its creator was overly pessimistic.

Though the FLA, known unofficially as Haddad's Army and in IDF circles as Zadal, the acronym for Zva Drom Levanon — the Army of South Lebanon — is generally regarded as a Christian force, it has in fact been able to attract from other communities too.

According to Seren Menahem, the Christian component today is only 60 per cent, with Shi'ites and Druse each contributing 20 per cent.

THE MORNING we were at the H.Q., several dozen new recruits arrived, quite a few of them in their own cars, which in tax-free Lebanon is not a particular sign of affluence. They explained that they had come because "everything's falling apart around Beirut," and they had decided that the only way to preserve their own homes and villages was for their own army to do

The shortage of money, most of it in the form of "loans" which may be repaid one day by the central government in Beirut, is now forcing the FLA to restrict

enlistment. There is no doubt that but for the lack of funds, it would now be much bigger.

What the Israeli authorities consider particularly important about the new wave of volunteering is that "so many Shi'ites come along," because for the future cooperation with Southern Lebanon that will be required to secure our northern border, the Shi'ites are the trump card.

According to the latest IDF statistics, there are 965,000 inhabitants in the Southern Lebanese area held by the IDF. More than half of them — 520,000 — are Shi'ites. Christians account for 200,000, and there are 110,000 Sunni Moslems, 55,000 Druse, and 80,000 Palestinians.

Recruiting drives for Haddad's Army have been quite vigorous and the experience has been that "if one man in a village decides to join up, he breaks the ice, so to speak, and is immediately followed by not a few of his peers. Indeed, during the past few weeks there has been pressure from young men to be inducted, and more come to volunteer than we can take."

NOBODY MAKES any bones about the FLA's being Israeli-backed and supported, a fact that is both its strength and its weakness. The collapse, without a fight, of the "official" Lebanese Army around Beirut has convinced the southerners that Israeli backing and training assistance is the only way to create an army that might stand up and fight when the time comes. On the other hand, the Israeli backing makes it taboo for some Lebanese, especially the Shi'ites, who are influenced by Khomeinism, and those southerners who have relatives in the north and fear reprisals against them if they join the FLA.

Yet the last month has shown that the Israeli aspect has not deterred the volunteers. From talks with some of them and with Israeli officers, it seems that at least those southerners who live close to the Israeli border have come to realize that their future lies in cooperating with Israel. They realize that, if they don't protect their homes and

families, nobody else will do it for them. They learned that the hard way during the gradual PLO takeover of the south before Operation Peace for Galilee was launched in June 1982.

The latest round of fighting up north has demonstrated to them that there is neither a central government nor an army capable of assuring their security. Experts also believe that the Shi'ites in the south tend to belong to the "silent majority" who are not in favour of the extremist trends in their community, especially in the north, which is made up of the El Amal organization, the Khomeinists, the locally-oriented religious extremists, and the small number of suicidal extremists ready to die in the name of Allah.

It is not only the change of the Christian image of the FLA that is responsible for the success of the recruiting drive. Being in the army is a status symbol in the villages, and the young men appreciate the "real" military discipline and make-up of the FLA, which sets it apart from the numerous militias, which were formerly the main outlet for their dreams of glory.

At present, the FLA comprises four battalions of infantry and armoured vehicles, the grey-painted armoured personnel carriers and elderly tanks being supplied by the IDF. The ammunition boxes on the vehicles carry Hebrew markings, and except for men who used to be in the Lebanese Army and still wear its distinctive olive-green uniform, everybody else is outfitted in Israeli khaki. The standard weapon is the Kalachnikov rifle, captured in great quantities from PLO stores by the IDF.

The small force is deployed all the way from the Israeli border to Sidon in the west and Jezzine in the east. The main concentrations are obviously in the south, and their principal deployment further north is on roadblocks and patrols.

WHAT ARE THE respective expectations of the IDF and the Southern Lebanese of the small army?

"We want to be an army like the Israeli army," I was told by a junior officer, who had served in the Lebanese Army infantry for six years, with the rank of first sergeant, before joining the FLA in 1976. He has been with the IDF in Israel and speaks a fairly fluent Hebrew. "We expect to be a regular army, properly organized and disciplined. The IDF helps us to achieve these objectives."

Because they respect the IDF they have no complex about being a very junior brother. And what would they be fighting for?

"For peace with Israel and to keep the terrorists from ever coming back into our villages again," he summed up.

The death of Major Haddad was a great loss to them.

"He was our teacher as well as a brother and father to each of us. But even though he is dead, we intend to continue his way, the way he taught us. We expect that when a new commander is appointed he, too, will continue Haddad's ways, peace with Israel and not a single terrorist in the south."

In fact, the question of the succession is a very vexing one. The most likely candidate, Elias Khalil, a colonel in the Lebanese Army, who was acceptable both to Israel and to the Beirut government, stepped aside when the publicity the Israeli media gave to his candidacy made him the target of threats and

hostility in the north. The IDF regrets that "the search for scoops by Israeli newsmen" foiled so promising a candidate. Now, the army will keep any other candidate's name under its hat until the actual appointment is made.

The ethnic problem makes the choice that much more complicated, and "if there were a good officer with a Christian mother and Shi'ite father, preferably with a Druse relative in the family as well, he'd be welcomed," someone told me, tongue in cheek. Meanwhile, Captain Sharbat Barkat, a Christian officer who formerly served with the Lebanese Army, as did Major Haddad, is the senior officer of the force.

THE LEBANESE authorities in Beirut, such as they are, ignore the FLA. They cashiered Haddad for cooperating with the enemy, and only restored his rank and rights when he was on his deathbed. Yet neither the government nor the Lebanese Army had the courage to attend his funeral.

It is, perhaps, an historic tit for tat that almost everyone in Lebanon and outside it ignores the Beirut authorities, unless he happens to be engaged in toppling them.

What are the official Israeli expectations of the FLA?

"We consider them excellent fighters against the terrorists," said Seren Menahem, "but obviously we can't expect such a small force to stand up to the Syrian Army. That's our job."

He openly admits that the IDF helps to train the force, "and we stress the *ein breira* (there's no alternative)" philosophy that has stood us in such good stead. We emphasize that if they won't fight for themselves, nobody else is going to do it for them."

The FLA does have one source of funds of its own: taxes on imports through Sidon and Tyre harbours. Taxing harbour turnover is nothing new in Lebanon, which has few other taxes, and it has usually been exploited by whichever militia happened to have its armed men nearest the port. It was also a good source of income for the PLO in the south during the years they had their state within a state there.

WITH THE INFLUX of recruits, the FLA has had to extend its quarters, and a few weeks ago took over the long-abandoned French barracks overlooking El-Khiam village, on the Israeli border. It was decided that the men should recon- dition the camp themselves. When we visited it this week, they were still quite busy, though a large part of the job had already been accomplished and the place was beginning to look like army barracks anywhere. They were particularly proud of the gleaming white wall-tiles they had installed in the toilets and kitchen, and were happy to take their armoured personnel carriers for a demonstration run, manning its guns with all the satisfaction of boys showing off a big new toy.

The FLA is a completely volunteer force, and recruits sign on for a one-year stint, which can be extended every 12 months, subject to the agreement of both sides. On joining up, they take an oath to "Lebanon and the Free Lebanese Army." They do three-months' basic training, which fits them to be regular soldiers of the line. From then on, promotion depends on merit.

The ages of the soldiers range from the newest recruits' 18 years to the 60 of Lebanese Army veterans.

The age-limit for new recruits is now 30.

And what about the pay? "We didn't join for the money," the men at El-Khiam protested almost in chorus when I put the question to them. But when one of them added, "It's not enough," it wasn't very long before they were all grumbling, like soldiers in any army in the world throughout history.

Actually, the monthly pay is 1,400 Lebanese pounds, "plus 350 for travelling expenses," which works out at a very respectable \$543,750 at the official exchange rate, and perhaps as much as double that in comparative purchasing power. Indeed, some of the recruits reluctantly conceded that the pay was quite a carrot if one didn't have a regular job.

What the more experienced men grumbled about was that the Lebanese Army pays its men "three times as much." They also took exception, once I raised the point, to the fact that there are no family allowances, so that an 18-year-old recruit gets the same as a father of six. But it was clear that the pay question is not a crucial one.

FROM THE EL-KHIAM look-out post the view is fantastic: snow-capped mountains, rolling hills and, to the north, down in the valley and within rifle-range, Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch. It is very easy to see why, from Israel's point of view, the terrorists must never be allowed to return there. The two companies of infantry and armour training at the camp should be able to keep them out.

But from the Lebanese point of view, too, there is great interest in keeping out the terrorists. El-Khiam village suffered perhaps more than most other places in Lebanon from the PLO reign. The terrorists turned it into their central base and HQ in the south, with as many as 5,000 of its men stationed there and lording it over the 20,000 almost exclusively Shi'ite population. During the 1978 Litani operation, it came under heavy Israeli fire and bombing and the villagers abandoned their homes. They returned only about 18 months ago and have done a remarkable job of repairing their houses.

In one of them we met their mayor, Kamel Zawi, and a small group of his friends. No, they did not think that the FLA alone could assure their security. They were sure they would need Israel's help. They hemmed and hawed when asked whether their own young men had volunteered for the FLA, explaining that "we weren't here when Haddad established the army, and have only just returned, so there haven't been many volunteers from this village."

In typical Lebanese fashion, they preferred to wait and see how the die would be cast in Beirut before defining their own stand. They had not yet "got used" to the FLA, but they did know it was "Christian oriented." Furthermore, almost every family had relatives in the north who might be threatened if the young men joined up.

For the future, they wanted good relations with Israel, an open border if possible, but "not to be an Israeli protectorate. We stand for Lebanese sovereignty, and we want Lebanese legitimacy to be restored, all the way to the border" one of the men, a lawyer, said.

Meanwhile, they supported the Shi'ites' struggle in Beirut as "a way of getting our fair share in the government and overcoming the discrimination against the Shi'ites." The fight there was "an internal

struggle" for fair distribution of the Lebanese cake and they wished Israel to stay out of it.

If conditions in Lebanon ever returned to normal, they would like to see the FLA become part of the official Lebanese Army. They said regretfully that at present, they could not tell whether the FLA was an Israeli or a Lebanese force. But they hoped that Lebanon "won't make the same mistake again." They wanted to see it set up an army of its own that would be a real army able to assure the country's sovereignty and security.

I could not but recall that in Beirut in July 1983 I was told the identical thing, with the addendum that in the past, the Lebanese Army had been "a parade force, not a fighting one."

But, while hesitating to commit themselves on anything, the group of El-Khiam notables were vociferously united on one thing. Whatever happened, "No more terrorists in this village. We'll keep them out, on our own if need be," they declared, without explaining how they would set about it.

UNTIL A NEW commander is appointed, few will deny that the IDF has great influence on the FLA.

As the IDF sees it, it should eventually become the nucleus for a "territorial Division" based in the south of the country, cooperating with Israel to keep the terrorists out, and both sides of the border secure.

In the Christian village of Kleia, adjoining Marjayoun, they have more confidence in the FLA than the notables of El Khiam.

In the home of the deputy mayor, the walls are decorated with icons of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and photo posters of the late Bashir Jemayel and Major Haddad.

"The Christian world sold us for a barrel of oil. Now the American

Marines are abandoning Beirut too," they told me there. "We can only rely on Israel, and Israel must train the FLA and back it up against our common enemies."

Across the border in Metulla, a 15-minute drive south, the view is remarkably similar.

"The Haddad Army can be a force that can give us the security that Operation Peace for Galilee was all about," a leading Metulla resident told me. "Of course there may be the occasional Katyusha rocket, as there was last week, but that we can live with. It makes us no less safe than the streets of London, New York or Jerusalem. What we can't live with is the situation we had before, with salvos of Katyushas and artillery."

But to be an effective force, he went on, "the FLA must not only have the backing of the IDF, but must be seen to have it, by demonstrations of strength that will deter potential enemies."

As for the question of a new commander for the FLA, "it's the spirit of the men that counts," he said. "The commander need be no more than a figurehead, and Haddad was a very good one. Maybe it should be left like that for a year or two, in order not to bring ethnic rivalries into play."

He convinced us that maintaining the FLA was in the interests of Israel, but what was in it for the Lebanese?

"Plenty. They've learned on their own skins what it means to be defenceless. The PLO taught them that lesson very clearly in the south and the Syrians in the north. If it has the support of the IDF, the FLA can provide them with the protection they must have to lead normal lives. And as long as they are committed to protecting themselves, the IDF will back them. There's a border between us, but our interests cross it."



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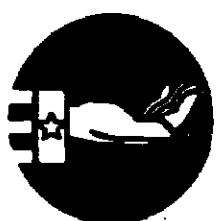
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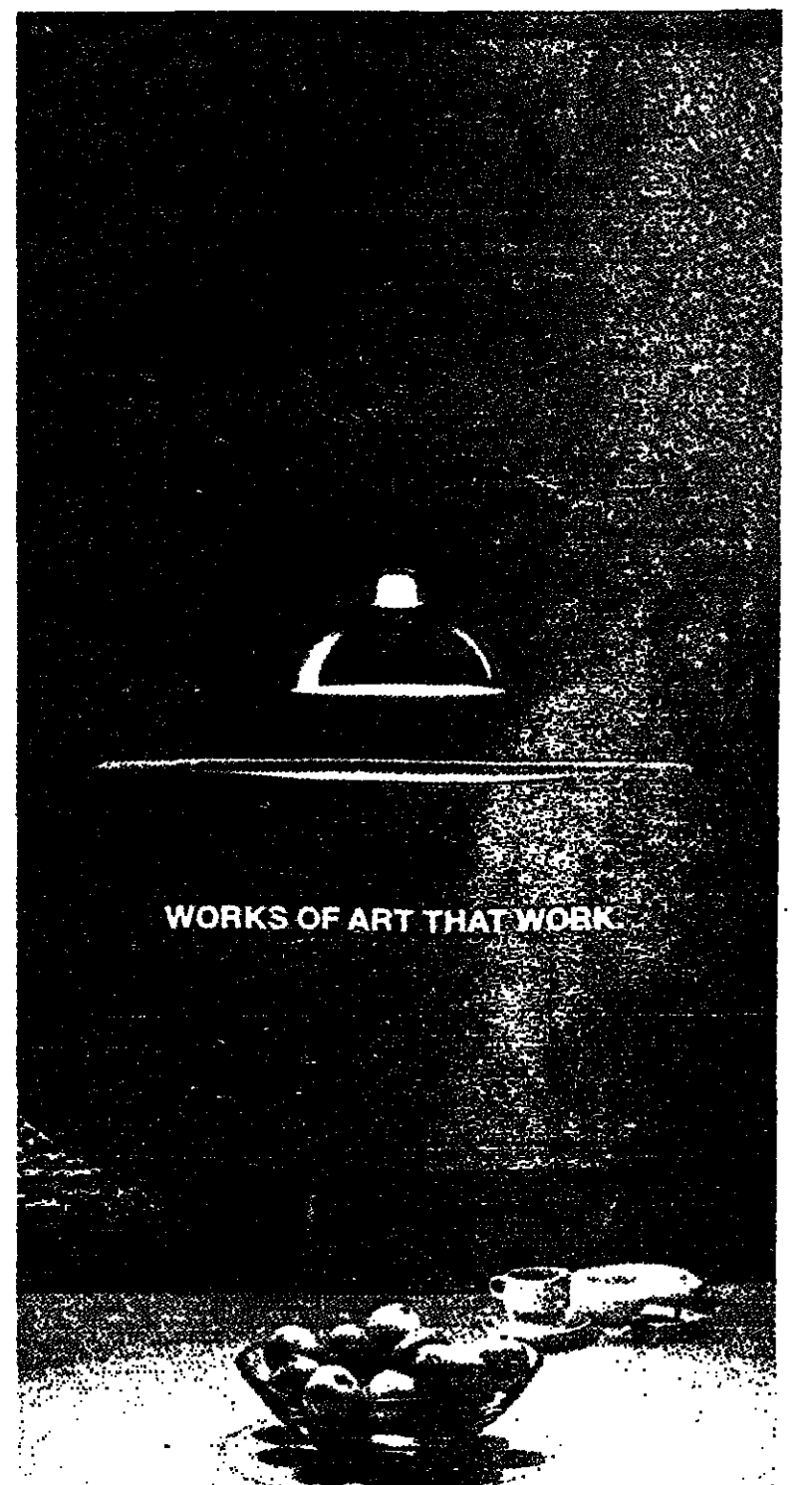
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YA'ACOV LEVINSON, former chairman of Bank Hapoalim and of Ampal, was the driving force behind the rapid growth of the Histadrut economic empire — Hevrat Ha'Ovdim — for nearly two decades.

During the 15 years that he was associated with Bank Hapoalim he turned the relatively small Histadrut financial institution, which resembled a workers' savings bank, into Israel's second largest bank, a factor in the international financial world. Through his practically unlimited power and authority at the bank, he turned the wheels of all the major Histadrut companies.

He had the reputation of a hard-headed, hard-working family man who disliked publicity and shunned the limelight. He was often regarded as one of the brightest and most promising members of the "sabra technocracy," the new generation of Israeli-born-and-educated leaders, and a typical representative of the ascendant managerial class.

Twice his name was mooted as the Labour Party's candidate for the post of finance minister; both times he shied away from assuming the responsibility of candidate for public office, which would have meant constant exposure to public scrutiny. In 1974, then-prime minister Yitzhak Rabin offered him the Treasury post, but Levinson hesitated and eventually turned down the offer, in part also because he felt he had no proper replacement at Bank Hapoalim which had already grown considerably and had expanded its activities during the first five years of his tenure at the bank.

Then again in January 1981, when the Labour Alignment's political fortunes looked very high in the public opinion polls, Levinson announced his decision to quit the bank within several weeks. He stole the show at the Labour Party convention that month with an inspiring speech outlining the needs for a new and decisive economic policy. But shortly afterwards, he failed to reach agreement with Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres over how they would divide their authority in the government should Labour return to power. Levinson soon withdrew from political activity and began devoting most of his time to the development of Ampal, the Bank Hapoalim investment company in the U.S.

YA'ACOV LEVINSON was born in 1932 in Tel Aviv into a typical Histadrut activist family. From his early youth, he learned at home both about the labour movement and the trade unions' financial affairs. His father, Gershom Levinson, served for many years as treasurer of the Histadrut and was

also well-connected with the political, cultural and literary elite of the small Yishuv during the British Mandate.

In his youth, Ya'acov Levinson joined the Mapei-affiliated pioneering youth movement, Hatnua Hameuhedet, and became a founding member of Kibbutz Rosh Hanikra. In 1953, he joined the leadership of the youth movement, and one year later was elected its secretary-general. He remained a member of his kibbutz until 1960, and served there for a time as its treasurer.

Following his studies in economics and political science at the Hebrew University, he joined the secretariat of Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, the Histadrut holding company, and he soon became the head of the economic department. He was recruited for his post by then Hevrat Ha'Ovdim secretary Asher Yadin, who had known Levinson well from their youth movement days.

Levinson soon developed the small economic department into a powerful tool of the Histadrut economic empire, which began to take an active interest in the activities of the various Histadrut companies and major concerns. From there, his ascent to the top job at Bank Hapoalim was a natural move.

From there he moved to Bank Hapoalim, where in 1969 he replaced the retiring chairman, Avraham Zabarski. He also was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee of the Bank of Israel.

From 1969, as a director of Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, and the head of the Bank Hapoalim, Levinson was the chief banker of the Histadrut and the Labour establishment. He transformed the Bank from a conservatively-run establishment into one of the most dynamic and successful Israeli business enterprises, making it the second biggest bank in the country. He promoted the expansion of the bank's business. One of his most successful ideas was the creation of Israel's first international mutual fund, open to subscribers all over the world.

While in general Levinson shunned publicity, he did express his views and ideas in his numerous articles on economic subjects, some of which appeared in *The Jerusalem Post*. He promoted sophisticated industrialization, particularly in kibbutzim, and sought to control inflation by increased productivity. He was also on the editorial board of the *Economics and Political Science Journal*.

LEVINSON ENJOYED the reputation of an iconoclast, who never hesitated to slaughter holy cows. He was one of the few Israeli finan-

A driving force



Ya'acov Levinson, right, with the late finance minister Pinhas Sapir, in 1972.

(Freidlin)

ciars who had the courage to campaign for the partial elimination of index-linked bonds. These, he claimed, were crippling the economy and should be issued only under very special conditions.

Levinson was a director of a long list of Israeli enterprises, beginning with Ampal Investments, in which he took a particular interest, the Israel Corporation, American-Israel Bank, auxiliary companies of Bank Hapoalim and Israel Continental Bank Ltd. He had managed Bank Hapoalim so skillfully that its balance sheet was equal to half the national income, and he was known for his dispassionate, level-headed approach.

In January 1981, he was elected a member of the Labour Party's leadership bureau. The vote was followed by a general debate, in which Levinson described inflation as "the country's number one enemy."

On January 21, 1981, Levinson resigned his chairmanship of Bank Hapoalim and announced that he would henceforth devote his efforts to promoting foreign investments in Israel's economy. Political observers said this would open new political options for him, should the Alignment return to power after the elections.

Following his resignation, Levinson revealed a three-pronged plan to revive the economy, based on increased productivity, return to an export incentive system, and a total freeze of all prices. It was generally believed that Levinson would be Labour's candidate for the Treasury in the forthcoming elections. But in March, Labour chairman Shimon Peres announced

that Levinson would not be the party's candidate.

Levinson was very close to the late kibbutz and labour leader Musa Harif, of Kibbutz Tzor'a, who was killed in January 1982 in a car accident together with his wife and pilot son. They had worked together for years in the youth movement and in the Labour Party, and Harif's death was also a great personal and political loss for Levinson.

Both had been active in the Labour Party's Beit Berl group, which had hopes of reviving the party with some of its younger members who aspired to leadership

in the party and the nation. Following the Alignment's second election defeat in June 1981, Levinson stepped up his activities at Ampal in New York and spent a large part of his time in the U.S. He said that he wanted to complete the task of developing further the overseas activities of Bank Hapoalim before returning to Israel. He was reluctant to resume any sort of political activity before Labour's leadership question was resolved.

In August 1983, Levinson announced that he was resigning from the chairmanship of Ampal and was severing his ties with Bank

THE SUICIDE of Ya'acov Levinson marks a tragedy that transcends the terrible end and waste of one man's life. The allegations regarding his alleged improprieties as director of Bank Hapoalim's subsidiary company Ampal, in the years following his retirement as head of the entire Bank Hapoalim network, remain suspended in the air, like arrows without a target.

Public attention focused largely on the question of Levinson's guilt or innocence. The process was fuelled by the Likud, eager for a Labour scandal to divert the public from the government's massive failures and always ready to incite against the "secret cabal" of Labour managers who supposedly run the state.

The charges against him were in part also a function of a larger power struggle about which, like the pea hidden under a fast-moving shell, little was known. Yet there is mounting evidence that Levinson may have killed himself because he could not take the full charge of the voltage unleashed against him. He broke at the centre of the political power struggle swirling around him — not because he feared that his guilt would soon be revealed, but because of the incredible pressures applied to him.

The Levinson case looked like the Asher Yadin and Avraham Ofer affairs in 1976-1977. Yadin was found guilty of using his position in the Hevrat Ha'Ovdim framework for personal gain, an old-fashioned case of corruption. Ofer, minister of housing in the Rabin government, was accused but never indicted of manipulating Shikun Ovdim funds for the benefit of the Labour Party. The attorney-general told then prime minister Rabin that he apparently would not have to seek an indictment; but before this exoneration was made public, Ofer, abandoned by his cabinet colleagues and fearful that the Yadin conviction had created a "lynch" atmosphere in which his guilt was automatically assumed, killed himself.

Some observers have commented that the Levinson case more closely

resembles the Ofer affair than the Yadin one — not because of their tragic suicides, but because there was no hint of personal corruption or gain involved, and there was scepticism about the validity of the charges.

BUT THE Levinson case is actually closer to the Lavon affair than to the Yadin and Ofer episodes.

The Lavon affair became the centre point in a force field on which all of the opposing forces within the Labour Movement contended. The specific question of Lavon's responsibility for the botched 1954 "intelligence" operation in Egypt was soon lost in the larger shuffle.

What remained was the struggle over the leadership and politics and direction of the Labour Movement — a struggle that tore the movement apart in the '60s.

The reunification of the major elements involved into the Israel Labour Party 15 years ago papered over some of the cracks. Despite the emergence of a new generation for whom the old divisions are historical footnotes, the persistence of institutional divisions like the Ihud Hakibbutzim and Kibbutz Meuhad movements until 1980, and of political constellations like "the Rabin camp" and "the Peres camp" revealed the thin skin covering the old fractures.

Ya'acov Levinson was closely tied politically to the rump Beit Berl group which united the Ihud, party leaders like the late Musa Harif, Uzi Baram, Naamat's Nava Arad,

Hapoalim. By that time he had fallen out with Giora Gazit, the chairman of the Bank Hapoalim executive and its chief executive officer, whom Levinson had brought to the bank in December 1980 as his personal nominee.

It was not known at the time that the bank management and Hevrat Ha'Ovdim had decided two months earlier to appoint a two-man investigating committee which was to enquire into Levinson's activities as chairman of Bank Hapoalim and of Ampal. He gave no hint of his future plans, but it was generally assumed that for the time being he would engage in various business activities.

The fact of the investigation was revealed to the press six weeks ago, and shortly afterwards the investigation committee, consisting of Shraga Rotman and Amiram Sivan, announced that it had failed to reach a clear-cut decision on what by then had become known as the "Levinson Affair," because it had not been given sufficient explanations on a number of questions. The Bank Hapoalim board, at the urging of Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel, then decided to hand over the material to the Attorney-General, who, in turn, decided to involve the police.

During the last weeks of his life Levinson became fully occupied with preparing material for the police investigation; seeking legal counsel from two of Israel's top lawyers, David Libai, the head of the Bar Association who is also a personal friend, and Ya'acov Ne'eman, a senior partner in the law firm with which Chaim Herzog was associated before he was elected

president and former director-general of the Treasury under Yigal Hurwitz.

Levinson reacted only twice publicly to the allegations that were leaked from the investigation by the Histadrut committee. Once, in a brief statement, he stressed that he had always worked in the interest of the Bank Hapoalim group and had not received any personal benefits or gains except his salary. The second time, he asked a small group of journalists to his home to give them his version regarding various allegations which had been published against him. He called for an independent investigation in which all the questions would be aired.

Always a very sensitive and sentimental person beneath his seemingly rough and authoritative exterior, Levinson apparently felt increasingly deserted by some of his colleagues with whom he had worked for many years.

When the "Levinson affair" first became public last month, some of his close friends feared that it might end in a tragedy and that Ya'acov Levinson might not be able to suffer this constant, critical public exposure. Levinson was likely to follow Avraham Ofer's example, these friends said, alluding to the suicide seven years ago of the former housing minister in former premier Rabin's government. When the news of Levinson's tragic death became known yesterday morning, it was a shock to the entire country, way beyond the confines of the Labour Party and the Histadrut.

He is survived by his wife Nurit, and by his sons Gershom, Assaf, Idan and Dan.

A.R. A.Z.

Labour's shell game

By DAVID TWERSKY

Yisrael Kessar and others in an unsuccessful attempt to create a viable centre of gravity within the party.

Politically, the unification of the two Labour related kibbutz movements to form the United Kibbutz Movement (UKM) represented an attempt by each partner to capture the other for its conception of the Labour Party. In this regard (and only in this regard) the merger has been less than a success.

The alliances that bind each half of the UKM to wider groups within the party remain largely unchanged.

LEVINSON became involved in a struggle with his hand-picked successor as head of Bank Hapoalim, Giora Gazit, over the direction of Bank Hapoalim and Ampal. Levinson called upon his allies within the Hevrat Ha'Ovdim Labour Party framework: Gazit, a former senior Treasury official and a relative newcomer to the political side of the Labour economy, gravitated magnetically to the remaining poles of power in the force field.

Levinson could count on the Ihud, and the other survivors of the Beit Berl grouping — Amiram Sivan, Baram, Arad and others. Naftali Blumenthal, Amos Eran and Rafi Edri, who belonged to the once anti-Beit Berl formation Yehdavi, combined forces around Levinson. This left the Kibbutz Meuhad/Rabin camp forces and Histadrut secretary-general Yeroham Meshel to close ranks around Gazit.

The "secret files" alleging Levinson's misdeeds were bandied

about for months before they found their way into print in *Haolam Hazeh*. But the Levinson-Gazit fight was only the centre of the struggle for control of the Labour Movement's key financial institution. To that fight add the dimension of the Rabin-Peres split; and to all that add the struggle being waged around Meshel's "terms" for his retirement. (Meshel has reportedly demanded the post of chairman of the board of Bank Hapoalim as part of the price for his leaving office.)

IT IS AGAINST this background that one should understand recent initiatives to replace Meshel now, and to investigate the bank share collapse last October. The first initiative weakens Meshel's leverage immeasurably; the second puts pressure on Gazit, who presided over the disastrous performance of the bank last fall.

On the other side, Meshel and the Rabin camp could use each other for their own reasons and goals, each playing the other off against the party leadership.

If it weren't so important, if so much didn't depend on the Labour Movement reasserting its moral and political hegemony, one might dismiss the tragedy with a tear or two. But Israel cannot afford what one party MK called "the Labour party's death wish."

Too bad it ended in such an ugly way, Ya'acov Levinson was the victim of a collision at the point where the Labour Party intersects the Histadrut economy.

That is also the point from which the national revival must be generated. The stakes involved are too high to leave the responsibility for this in the hands of those who have abused the trust the movement placed in them.

Only the Labour Movement can save itself. And only a revived Labour Movement that stops playing the shell game can save the country.

David Twersky, the editor of *Spectrum*, the Israel Labour movement monthly, is an active member of the Ihud and of Kibbutz Gezer.

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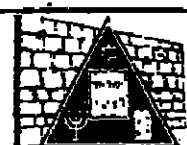
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"Towards a Theology of World Religion"

Fr. Walbert Dählmann, O.F.M. Cap.

THURSDAY, March 1, 1984 at 4.30 p.m. in the Tantur Auditorium

(on the main road to Bethlehem, at the foot of Gilo, Bus No. 30)

Early visitors welcome — Tea 3.45 p.m.

SINCE THE failure of the Iraqi invasion of Iran in September 1980, ending the Iran-Iraq war has not been an urgent priority for most outside powers. The paramount concern of third parties, as always, has been the preservation of a balance between the two major Gulf powers; and this has been precisely the effect of a protracted, inconclusive war. But there is a distinct possibility that this relatively tolerable situation may soon change.

Recent reports of internal discontent and sabotage in Iraq, coupled with the debilitation of Iraq's economy, suggest that Iran might gain through attrition what it could not achieve on the battlefield — the collapse of the Iraqi regime. If politics were a morality play, there would be little reason to sympathize with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Having shot his way into supreme power in Baghdad in 1979, he then tried to shoot his way into Iran in 1980, meanwhile building a personality cult that is, with the possible exception of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's, unrivalled in the non-Communist world. The visceral reaction of many outsiders is that Saddam's present predicament is no more than just retribution for his overweening ambition. But the situation in the Gulf is far too serious to be treated as a Greek tragedy.

An Iranian victory would be a disaster of the first order. Even if Iraq were not annexed, in whole or in part, the emergence in Baghdad of a regime subservient to the Islamic revolutionary movement of Khomeini would eliminate the main barrier to Iranian expansion, set off tremendous upheavals in the Arab Gulf states and lead to their subordination, or incorporation by a political-religious force no less hostile to western interests than the Soviet Union.

It would also permit a direct link between Iran and Syria and an irresistible pressure on Jordan, probably resulting in its inclusion, as well as Iraq's, in an extremely dangerous war coalition on Israel's eastern front. In short, an Iraqi defeat must be prevented at almost any cost.

Since Iraq's current vulnerability is a function of its economic inferiority, rather than of military weakness, the way to prevent an



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein addressing the troops

SAVING SADDAM

By MARK A. HELLER

Iranian victory is to restore the economic balance between the two belligerents. The least inflammatory method would be to shore up Iraq's economy.

But the direct cost of the war is so high — perhaps \$1 billion per month — that even the Arab oil producers most threatened by Iran are finding it difficult to provide the necessary subsidy; it is unlikely that the United States, with its huge budget deficit, or other industrial countries, still in the early and tentative stage of an economic recovery, will be more forthcoming. And even if sufficient assistance

were available to Iraq, Iran's other advantages — in population, strategic depth, readiness to incur casualties and political will — would still leave it better positioned to prevail in a prolonged war.

THE ONLY practical way of forcing Iran to moderate its war aims is to impair its ability to secure the sinews of war, that is, to impose on it the same economic constraints that Iraq is already suffering. A universal embargo on Iranian oil could certainly bring this about. But historical experience shows that economic sanctions, especially

multi-lateral sanctions, are not effective; and since no single trading partner is indispensable to Iran, there is nothing to be gained from this approach.

Only the physical interruption of oil operations, particularly at the main export terminal on Kharg Island, will influence Iran's behaviour. Despite the uproar surrounding the supply of French Super-Etendard aircraft to Iraq, Kharg continues to function. Perhaps Iraq is still incapable of carrying out the task: perhaps its allies, intimidated by threats of Iranian retaliation, have persuaded it not to try. Whatever the constraints on Iraqi action, they must be removed soon if defeat is to be avoided.

This does not require the direct involvement of outsiders in combat operations or even the provision to Iraq of major new weapons. But it may depend on the transfer of information and appropriate technologies for targeting, penetration and suppression of air defences. And it certainly implies action to deal with Iranian reprisals.

Iran cannot physically block the Strait of Hormuz but it can interfere with shipping there, and the United States, which is committed to free passage through the Strait, must be prepared to clear mines and protect tanker traffic against threats from nearby Iranian naval or air bases.

The danger of Iranian attacks on oil installations on the western side of the Gulf must be minimized by manpower policies needed to extract the maximum potential of a fully-integrated air defence network based on the AWACS and F-15 interceptors already present in Saudi Arabia. And although there are no foolproof counter-measures against Iranian-inspired terror, information exchanges among Israeli, western, Iraqi and other Arab intelligence agencies would contribute to its containment.

None of the actions suggested here is without risk; none of them guarantees that the balance in the Gulf will be restored. But given the likely consequences and growing threat of an Iranian victory, the greatest risk is to do nothing at all.

(Mark A. Heller is senior research associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, and author of *The Iran-Iraq War: Implications for Third Parties*.)

Myth of professionalism

By ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

THE DEFENCE of Yehudit Karp and her report is as worrying in some respects, as the attack.

Both seem preoccupied with the issue of whether she has acted professionally or politically. The fault is not in the answer, on which the public debate has focused, but rather in the question.

Karp's detractors, in a sense, have been quite logical. Civil servants, in a parliamentary regime, are not responsible for their actions before public opinion or the parliament; this is the function of the responsible minister.

It is a symptom of the lack of ministerial responsibility that has characterized our system of government of late that the attack is directed against a civil servant. If the minister cannot be held to his responsibility, it is quite natural to direct criticism to the subordinate.

This state of affairs is, of course, inconsistent with parliamentary government, which is why even the questioning of a civil servant in a parliamentary committee was vehemently condemned in Britain in 1954 in the famous Crichton Down affair.

IT IS EASY to understand why the settlers have ignored the principle of ministerial responsibility and have centred their attack on Karp. Less forgivable is the reasoning of Karp's defenders. The thrust of their argument seems to be that the Karp Report is above public criticism, as it enjoys a supposed immunity from all but professional criticism.

This notion of professional immunity stifles public debate and is anathema to public control of administrative action. Some of our most grievous self-inflicted wounds of recent years have been grounded in this bogus value of professionalism. Policy in Judea and Samaria has been justified by the "professional" opinion of the former chief of staff. His "professional" opinion that it was essential to seize private Arab property for the founding of Elon

Moreh was rejected by the High Court, in a celebrated decision, as the justices preferred to accept the word of another "professional". Ezer Weizman, then defence minister.

If there is one certainty about Israel's economic crisis it is that salvation will not come from the professional economists, whose role in getting us into the present morass was critical.

Perhaps the most disturbing feature in the Lavi project, a multi-million dollar gamble, is that its principal champion, Defence Minister Arens, is a professional aeronautical engineer.

The true blasphemy in the unfortunate presidential intervention in *The Messiah* affair was in the reminder that President Herzog is a lawyer.

IT IS SYMPTOMATIC that Arik Sharon has favoured a government of experts, erroneously ascribing this to the American presidential system. The quest after a value-free non-political level of authority is profoundly anti-democratic, no matter what end of the political spectrum it comes from.

It is as misleading to classify the Karp Report as "professional", as it would be to describe the so-called Koenig Report, an Interior Ministry civil servant's proposal for dealing with Israel's Arab minority, which anticipated today's *herrenvolk* syndrome by almost two decades. Both are subject to public scrutiny and criticism. Neither is value-free. Both are political in the highest sense of the word.

The idea of a professionalism encompassing and protecting the law is one of our society's most cherished myths. But it is, nevertheless, a myth.

Like most myths, it serves a purpose — the strengthening of the judicial mystique. But like every flight from reality, it does damage as well. It is one reason that the decisions of our highest court, instead of serving as the stimulus of an ongoing national seminar, clarifying

and fortifying our basic values, is regarded as beyond the pale for ordinary mortals, an area reserved to masters of the craft.

There is real danger in ascribing a sort of professionalism to the actions of the attorney-general or his subordinates. This would be true even if one could be sure that the next attorney-general will equal the present incumbent in his dedication to the basic values of democratic government.

NO FIELD of knowledge is so value-laden as the law. The Karp Report is a political document in the sense that it supports specific policy objectives. They are, first and foremost, the rule of law and equality before the law.

Let us hope that Yehudit Karp accurately perceived and adopted the policy preferences of her superior and of the responsible minister.

The attorney-general is in a somewhat anomalous position in our scheme of government. He is not subject to direction by the minister of justice in matters confined to him by law. But if the minister of justice does not reject his action, drawing the necessary conclusions, he is responsible, as he is responsible for the action of any subordinate.

The Karp Report should not be hidden behind the false screen of professionalism. It is a political document.

If Minister Nissim rejects the policy on which the report is based, the rule of law and equality before the law, and the application of that policy to the facts presented, let him say so. That is where the public debate should be centred.

The controversy over politics versus professionalism falsifies the true issues. The basic values of responsible parliamentary government, are ill served both by the political attack on the Karp Report and by the professional defence of its author.

The writer is a political scientist.

The curse of the West Bank

By RA'ANAN WEITZ

economy I estimate that approximately 50,000 employees have to be transferred from the service sector to industry. This in addition to the new jobs needed for those who annually enter the work force.

No programme has been prepared to show how this could be achieved. All the talking so far has dealt only with monetary manipulations without really attempting to find out how to change the employment pattern or how to mobilize public and private enterprise to cope with the huge task of economic reform.

A DOCUMENT recently published by the World Zionist Organization and the Mateh-Binyamin Regional Council sheds light on the nature of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank, and describes their future development. (It should be noted that settlements in the Jordan Valley are not included in my definition of the West Bank.)

It shows that 84 per cent of the Jewish population in the West Bank are employed in local services or commerce to the major urban centres where they engage in similar activities. This distorted economic structure is more lopsided than the distortion in employment of the population of the entire country and therefore deserves the deplorable

nickname "an economic hump."

One can argue, of course, that the situation today is in its initial stage and like any other settlement project, productive activity can grow and develop only after the establishment of suitable infrastructures. That is why it is so extraordinary that the development project has set out to attain a total of 35,800 employees, 15 per cent of whom will be engaged in industry, 2 per cent in agriculture, and the remaining 83 per cent in services.

For this goal to be achieved, Israel is asked to invest 3.5 billion dollars. The development programme clearly illustrates that even in the future, after strained efforts and monstrous investments, the hump on the back of the country's economy will become impossibly big.

It is not to be wondered at. The conditions under which these settlements are set up predetermine these characteristics.

The scarcity of the available land makes it hard to provide space even for housing purposes, let alone for agriculture and industry. The hostile environment in which the settlements are deployed act as a

constrained factor for any real attempt at regional functions that would limit the services and create a basis for productive employment. Permanent commuting causes a situation in which it is necessary to duplicate the services so that they would compare to settlement projects in any other area of Israel.

There is only one conclusion: any addition to the settlements in the West Bank increases the burden and further removes Israel's economy from the right path to

recovery. JEWISH SETTLEMENT activity in the West Bank produces other malignant effects which obstruct the path to economic recovery and will continue to do so in the future — only to a greater extent.

First, every cent — public or private — invested in these settlements contributes to the distortion of our economy, when funds could be used in regions which, demographically and physically, are suitable for the development of productive enterprises.

For example, the budget of the Settlement Department of the

World Zionist Organization, which is financed by the government, could be directed totally to the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights.

Unfortunately, due to the political commitments of the Likud government the budget curtailment in settlement projects will be applied mainly to the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights, while the settlement momentum in the West Bank will remain intact. Thus, not only will the service sectors be encouraged to grow out of any conceivable proportion, but also the production potential — which could be exploited for creating new jobs and setting our economy on the right path to rehabilitation — will be tampered with.

Second, the ideology that views

the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Israel as one national and economic unit, encourages the employment of cheap Arab labour in Israel as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The outcome is obvious — a general disregard for the value of productive work to the point of looking upon it as a debasing activity.

If this mentality grows on us, it will present the most ominous factor blocking the process for economic growth. There is no way we can advocate physical labour and revive the belief in work as a basic value while our political leaders sponsor Jewish settlements in densely-populated Arab areas.

The writer is the chairman of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency.

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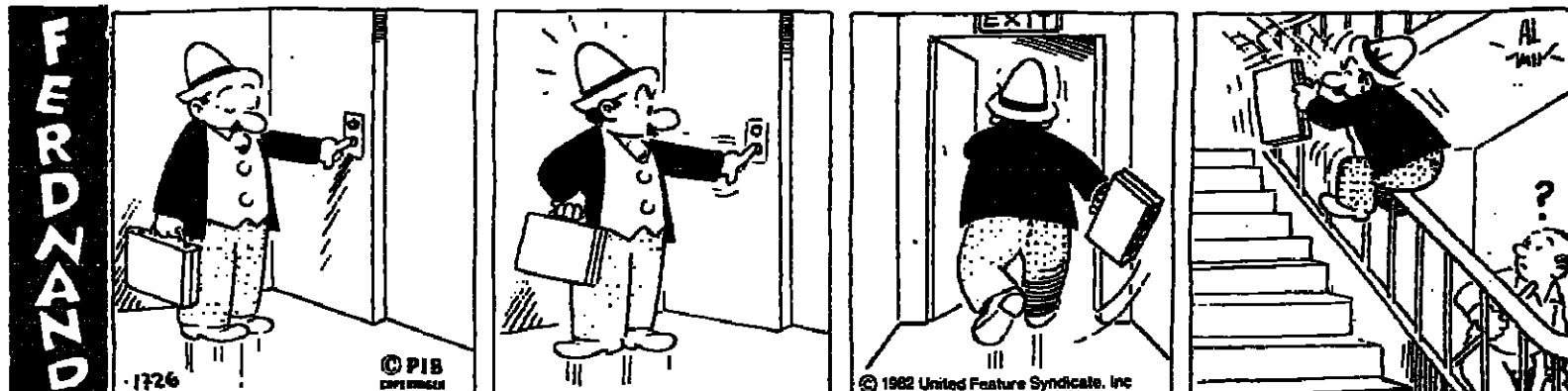
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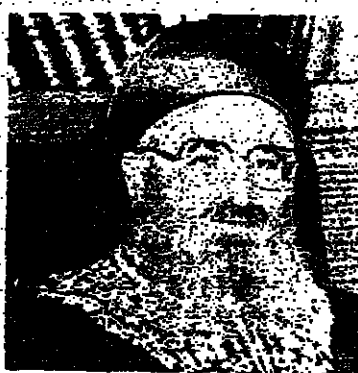
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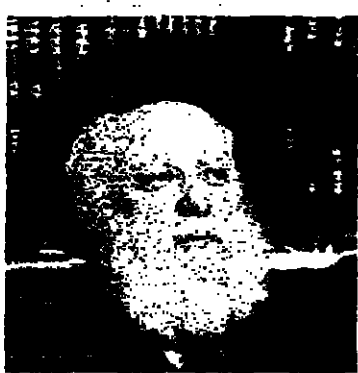
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By HAIM SHAPIRO / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu. (Rafanin Israeli)



Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira. (Karlinsky)

IT IS ALMOST a year since Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu and Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira assumed office. It is a year that has been far from free of religious problems; the town of Patah Tikva is threatening to legalize entertainment on Shabbat, a leading hassidic group has appealed to the secular courts over the issue of unequal allocations to yeshivot, the air is rife with reports of Christian missionary activity, unknown assailants have planted grenades in Christian and Moslem institutions and apparently even started an assault on the Temple Mount.

On many of these issues the chief rabbis have spoken out, but they feel they are not being heard. A year ago, Rabbi Shapira told *The Jerusalem Post* that although he didn't believe the press wanted to distort his words, "they hear only what they want to hear." Now he describes the press as hostile.

The transition from the quiet, calm world of study and the religious courts to the limelight as figureheads for the Torah has not been smooth and they have had to suffer for what they see as a lack of understanding of their role.

"We don't have to respond like a newspaper to every single issue that arises," Rabbi Shapira said in an interview this week at his office in Hechal Shlomo, in which both rabbis participated.

"One could not help but be impressed by the degree of cooperation between the two. Usually they would only have to glance at each other to determine who would speak."

During a courtesy visit before the interview of some Orthodox rabbis from the U.S., Shapira deliberately kept the discussion in Hebrew, rather than lapse into Yiddish in which the guests would have been more comfortable, evidently for the benefit of his Sephardi colleagues.

Much of this cooperation is no doubt a result of their unanimity of feeling on most issues. In answer to a question on the apparent growing rift between religious and secular, Eliahu nodded approvingly as Shapira stated that if there is such a rift, it is the work of the secular left. "There has been no new Tora," Shapira said, indicating that as far as he sees it, there has been no change in the religious camp.

THE RABBIS disclosed that Patah Tikva Mayor Dov Tavari, who is pressing to legalize entertainment on Shabbat, called upon them at their invitation, although the visit had not been publicized. They had explained to him that as serious as it was to desecrate the Sabbath, it was far worse to pass a law institutionalizing this practice. Both are convinced that at heart, most Israelis are, in fact, "religious."

But the term does not, in their view, encompass the Conservative and Reform movements. They were always ready to meet with such Jews, they said, but not with their so-called rabbis. "We cannot recognize rabbis who don't recognize the Tora," Shapira said.

As for the apparent willingness of Orthodox rabbis in America to meet with their Conservative and Reform colleagues, the chief rabbis said that such fraternization was permissible for organizational matters, to raise money, or work on behalf of Israel, but not on spiritual matters.

But, they conceded, it was better that such Jews come to Israel, even if they set up their own kibbutzim and other institutions. At least in Israel, they were safe from the danger of assimilation, an evil which had been brought on by Reform education.

head of the coalition be against the state? they asked rhetorically. Nor are they willing to become embroiled in the conflicts between the various religious political parties.

On a question concerning allocations to yeshivot, their primary concern was that yeshiva students do not get enough to support themselves and their families honourably, rather than the additional allocations given to Agudat Yisrael. Only when pressed as to whether money for yeshivot should be given out according to the number of students or some other criteria, did they say that it should be distributed according to the number of students.

They feel that they have a good rapport with other religious groups, including the most extreme. In answer to a question as to why groups other than the official rabbinate continue to fix their *hechsher* on food products, in contravention of the recently introduced *kashrut* law, they said that a compromise had been reached whereby such "private" *kashrut* certifications would only be fixed in addition to that of the local rabbinat. On this, they said, they had the agreement even of Neturei Karta.

The rabbis refuse to accept allegations that it is religious extremists who are behind the recent

setting of bombs at Christian and Moslem institutions and the evidently thwarted attack on the Temple Mount.

"If the police say that religious extremists are doing it, it is verbal violence on their (the police's) part," Eliahu said heatedly. He stressed that there is still no proof that there is any Jewish group organized to commit violence against non-Jews.

As to criticism that they had been slow in coming out with condemnation of such violence, they said that they had, in fact, made one statement. It was not for them to issue a new statement every time there was an incident they felt.

With regard to missionaries here, too, they condemned violence, although they stressed that it was forbidden for Jews to have anything to do with such people. "They should be allowed to withdraw away for lack of activity," Shapira said.

If there was any doubt as to whether the people in question were missionaries, we must consider them missionaries, Eliahu added.

AS A GOAL, the chief rabbis felt it was beneficial to enact as much religious legislation as possible, in every field. They felt that the civil courts have, during the past few years, taken on many of the prerogatives of the rabbinical courts on matters of marriage and divorce, regarding issues such as support payments and custody of children. These should be returned to the religious courts, they said.

The chief rabbis flatly denied that the rabbinical courts of today are stricter about *agunot* (women abandoned by their husbands) than rabbis had been in the past. On the contrary, they said, if there is any area where the rabbis leave no stone unturned, it is to relieve the plight of such women. It is the one issue, they added, on which the rabbis are commanded to be lenient in their judgment. But, they noted, there are some cases which cannot be resolved.

When asked to compare the religious legislation in Israel with the recent move by the Vatican and the Italian state to sever the links between them, the chief rabbis were incredulous that such a comparison could even be considered.

The Christian religion is not part of Italy, but Israel is our land and without the Tora there is no Jewish people, Shapira said. To which Eliahu added: the religious legislation of Italy was enacted by men, but we have the law of the Almighty.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:56 p.m.	6:08 p.m.
Tel Aviv	5:14 p.m.	6:10 p.m.
Haifa	5:05 p.m.	6:05 p.m.
Beersheba	5:12 p.m.	6:11 p.m.
Eilat	5:15 p.m.	6:11 p.m.

Tora Pardon: Vayak'el

JERUSALEM
YEHURUN JERUSALEM CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Friday Mincha 5:15, Shabbat Shabbat 8 a.m. Mincha 5:15, Shabbat Shabbat 8 a.m. HAZAN: ASHER HAINOVITZ.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 5:05, Shabbat Shabbat 8 a.m. Mincha 5:10, Shabbat 6:05.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 5:15 Shabbat 8:30. Dvar Tora: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green. HAZAN: Dov Kaplan.

Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, 13 King David St. Saturday morning service at 10 a.m. (R-form).
Har-El Synagogue (Progressive), 16 Shmuel Hagadol St. 9:20-10:41, Friday 5:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9:30 a.m. Rabbi Tova Ben-Hor.

Italian Synagogue at Museum of Italian Art, 27 Rehov Hildel, Mincha, Friday, 30 min. after candle lighting Shabbat, Shabbat 8 a.m.

TEL AVIV
Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd. Service conducted by guest cantor, Rabbis Shmuel and Rabbat Shabbat, Kiddush and Talmud shur after Saturday morning prayers. (Shurim by Synagogue President Avraham Hatzroni.) Mincha 5:30, Shabbat 8:00.

HAIFA
Elihu Church (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Mer Street, Saturday Service 11 a.m. Tel. 9 04-52581.

BE-HEADA MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY (LOCAL ISRAELI), 59 Allenby Street, Saturday meeting 5 p.m. Bible Study: Wednesday 8 p.m.

OTHER CENTRES
Baptist Village Congregation, 2 km. north of Petah Tikva. Congregational Service, Bible study 9:30 a.m. Worship 10:30 a.m. Tel. 052-23832.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMON CONGREGATIONS)
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Tel Aviv: 27 Shevet Menashe St. Herzliya, 052-559413.

Galilee: 15 Shlomo Hamelech St. Tiberias 067-92360.
Worship Services each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 12.

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Patah Tikva: Patah, 2 Patah, 910505.
Netanya: Net Shaked, Azurim Commercial Center, 52484.
Haifa: Neve Sha'anana, 37 Hachinon, 235530. Sabina, 24 Hagefen, K. Bialik, 712674.

SATLIDA
Jerusalem: (day) Kupat Holim Clalit, Rehov, 523191. Evuating Jerusalem, 212 Patah, 520073. (night) Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315. Shu'fat, Shu'fat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.
Tel Aviv: (day) Ben: 174 Ditzengoff, 222886. Aronson, Aronson, 237460. (evening) Superpharm, 40 Eliezer, Ramat Aviv, Lev Ha'ir, 69 Ehad Ha'am, 613862.
Patah Tikva: Superpharm, 43 Shapira, 909030. Netanya: Geva, 14 Sha'ar Hagal, 23699.
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Jerusalem Post Reporter

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TRYING TO find a theme to the current 34th International Berlin Film Festival is simply impossible. Film festivals being what they are these days, sheer volume is more important than anything else, and no honest reporter should attempt to give a full picture of this sort of event, for there is no such thing.

Every day in Berlin, the official selection offers two or three films, and five or six should be added from the eminently interesting programme of the Young Cinema Forum. Then there is the retrospective of this year's German films, about four offerings a day, and films in all sorts of sub-categories. One example: Yiddish films from the Brandeis Archives.

This is not all. A special programme of films from Mediterranean countries has been put together, with all countries around the basin represented except for Albania, Syria and Libya. And who would dare ignore the retrospectives? Ernst Lubitsch is a must for every film buff. All the films of Jules Dassin were shown. For anybody who might be bored, there are also the five new releases of vintage Hitchcock. For sheer enjoyment, they probably beat out most of the competition around.

Obviously one can give only a limited report of this major event. Let's start with the official selection, where the prizes will be awarded, and where the festival organizers lavished the most attention.

FOR THE OFFICIAL opening, festival director Moritz De Hadeln managed to find an ideal item, *Le Bal* (The Dancing Hall), an adaptation of a successful Parisian stage production. It is lyrical, symbolical, harmoniously put together, well-acted, and quite unusual in its way.

In a dancing hall, somewhere in France, certain characters gather regularly. The film starts in the present day, flashes back to the late Thirties and works back to the Eighties, using music typical of each period. The types shown and their behaviour characterize France's recent history, and the spoken word seems unnecessary.

There is not one line of dialogue in this movie, which is nevertheless perfectly clear, a pleasure to watch and discuss later. *Le Bal* has its shortcomings. It doesn't really add any dimension to the already familiar aspects of the historical moments it describes, and the last 15 years are dealt with in a cavalier way — possibly because director Etienne Scola relates best to the For-

An overdose of film festival

By DAN FAINARU / Berlin

ties. Fifties and the Sixties, the years when he was in his prime.

The other French entry is a different kettle of fish. *A Nos Amours* is probably the most accessible of Maurice Pialat's films. An uncompromising director who refuses to reach out for big subjects or grand statements, he concentrates on the authenticity of human experience and the pains of living and getting along with kin.

In this picture he focuses on the generation gap, on the cold loneliness dissimulated by ostentatious flirtations and on the fury of those who feel trapped in situations which they can't handle. As usual, Pialat scorns slick, carefully balanced scripts and sticks to a lifelike sequence of events.

If one accepts this approach, *A Nos Amours* is fascinating. But trying to view it with the eyes of a regular cinema consumer may turn out to be a frustrating experience.

BUT ONE CAN always rely on Hollywood to counterbalance this kind of unconventionality. Indeed, *Terms of Endearment*, the hottest American product on the world's screens right now, gives audiences exactly what they crave, an ideal combination of soap and humour, of laughter and tears, superbly acted by Shirley MacLaine, Debra Winger and Jack Nicholson.

The director, James Brooks, is a seasoned veteran of TV. After years of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Rhoda* and *Taxi*, he knows exactly how to please an audience. To be fair, even Brooks had trouble selling a comedy that turned into a tragedy. The often comic relationship between a self-centred mother and her daughter over a period of 15 years sounded OK, but giving the daughter cancer just as she is about to start on a new life sounded too far out for the box office. This was one reason why novelist Larry McMurtry thought his book unfilmable. Studio pundits agreed for a long time, but now that more than 20 million people have paid to see it, and it has been nominated for 11

Oscars, nobody seems to argue the point anymore — nobody except certain critics who dare to find it rather syrupy to say the least.

More ambitious and far more flawed is Bob Fosse's attempt to recreate the life story of *Playboy* covergirl Dorothy Stratten, who, on the brink of stardom, was murdered by her husband, who later committed suicide. The story, originally published as a long article in the *Village Voice*, won its author, Theresa Carpenter, a Pulitzer Prize.

Fosse's film is sometimes astonishing and often fascinating visually, but it altogether misses the point for several reasons. Fosse attempts to tell the girl's story, but he is obviously more interested by the man in her life — a narcissistic pimp of sorts, who hoped to be carried on her shoulders to his own fame.

Fosse focuses on the process of growing up and transforming a provincial girl into a *Playboy* but, without saying too much about what this process involves.

The kinkiness takes over from real character, so that even though the film is very pretty to look at — and Mariel Hemingway is simply stunning in the lead — the whole thing still doesn't work out satisfactorily.

From the other official selections already screened here, there was one, out of competition, which tried to supply a toned-down version of *The Day After Tomorrow* describes the end of the world by atomic holocaust, through a woman's eyes. There are some valid points made in this film, mostly about the effect of the bomb on a small town some distance from where the explosion occurs. The radiation arrives slowly but surely.

But the classic form of the American product, the lines which are somehow too familiar and the concept that is too smooth detract from the expected impact and give the film a shape that is too similar to well-intentioned formula preaching.

THERE is an accent on music, stressed in different sections of the

festival and featured throughout. One of the late-night attractions of the main selection was a screening of that grand-daddy of all vampire movies — Murnau's *Nosferatu*. Only this time, the audience was not requested to watch as is usual in reverential silence, for the Berlin Film Orchestra was on stage playing a full score of the music as written at the time the film was released in 1922.

This is obviously the Berlinale's answer to the "Coppola Syndrome" of playing classical films with live orchestras. The main difference being, of course, that while Francis Ford Coppola commissioned a new score from his father instead of using the original music written by Arthur Honegger for Abel Gance's *Napoleon*, the festival here stuck to the sources, in the best interests of film art, performing the original score by Hans Erdmann. The question is, of course, whether the film benefits anything from this score, and frankly, I am not sure.

A SIZEABLE part of the Forum programme of the festival is dedicated to Latin American cinema. Erika and Ulrich Gregor, while doing research on the Forum programme, stumbled upon the importance of music in Latin American cinema, and hence a batch of films about music, around music and with music are featured, particularly several films about the tango.

A large part of the programme is dedicated to documentaries which quite often are close to anthropology in their approach to research. There are also a considerable number of French films, not always made available to the Berlin festival, and the traditional quota of experimental and avant garde films.

Finally, there are the angry new German filmmakers, and most particularly women, who are given a large representation to protest against many of the topics men do not always tackle. For instance, a futuristic version of *Dorian Gray* by Ulrike Ottinger, which makes the Wilde hero into a victim of the scandal press, or *The Sleep of Reason*, the plight of a woman gynecologist trying to warn against the possible dangers of the pill for the women who have become addicted to it.

Considering that we are still in the early stage of the festival and much more is about to come, any further conclusions should be left for a later report — in order to avoid a serious case of film intoxication.

A LIVING ROOM in Herzliya. On the table, bread crumbs and pretzels. A monophonic radio tape is playing a recording of a concerto, and one of the people listening is the composer.

The concerto for viola and orchestra was listened to had its first performance at the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires last November. To the casual listener it is dissonant but accessible, painful and brimming. The Argentinian composer Marcelo Koc, formerly Herzl Kocz, of Vitebsk and Lodz, has come with his wife to visit his brother and sister in Israel for a week.

The 13-minute viola concerto took three years to compose. After we hear it, he says he wants to be sure we heard the war in it, the "bombs." The soft-spoken, grey-haired composer closed his eyes and buried his head in his hands as the tape played, returning to the emotional "place" of its composition.

"I'm lucky," says Koc. "My music is modern, but with feeling. I use the traditional symphonic structure, but with post-Schoenberg knowledge."

His "luck" has brought him considerable critical attention and a number of prizes in Latin America and Europe. The first was for his first composition, "Prelude, Intermezzo and Fugue," in 1951, from the Argentinian National Friends of Music.

He has a letter from Yehudi Menuhin about his violin concerto, saying it shows "real understanding and feelings." But Menuhin suggests that in composing for the viola, Koc allow his imagination "to make a more vocal line."

What does that mean? "He wants more melody," says Koc. "He didn't understand." But Menuhin was interested, and called long-distance to discuss the piece. "Bartok dedicated a piece to Menuhin 20 years ago. He didn't understand that one either."

"Bartok died of hunger in New York. No one would play him." Still, as Koc says, he is lucky. His blend of modern and classical attracts an audience. Besides, he could only be admitted to Argentina in 1938 with a trade; he continues to work as a textile technician. He can earn his bread.

KOC WAS FIRST described to me as a composer of "classical protest music." I ask him: Is there, in fact, such a thing as classical protest music? Koc smiles. "The artist is a man who always protests."

His first composition, which reflected the Kol Nidre theme, was dedicated to his parents, who died

Protest in music

By MARSHA POMERANTZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter



in Auschwitz. "My parents are in it, everything I've ever gone through is in it. That's protest."

In Argentina he has composed what are conventionally known as protest songs — to the words of Neruda, Lorca and others. They were played underground during the time of the military regime, and are now played on the radio.

Can music have any practical effect? "Music can make a better world. Einstein can make a better world. Romain Rolland can. Everyone can."

Koc has sent cassettes and the sheet music for his viola concerto to the Israel Philharmonic, and directly to Daniel Barenboim, first violist. If they are interested in performing the piece, he may be back next year.

IN ASHDOD last week, there were no violas in evidence. The subject was percussion. At the local community centre there was a bi-weekly evening meeting of high school students participating in a programme of music appreciation. It was sponsored by Tel-Am, an organization set up in the 50s by the American-Israeli Cultural Foundation and run under the auspices of the Ministry of Education's Youth Department.

According to Nissim Versand, an experienced music teacher who started working on these after-school programmes over 20 years ago, the young people who participate — in development towns, immigrant communities and border settlements — are not conservatory material. "If they weren't here for this programme they would be out sitting on the *barzelim* (iron bars at street-corners) or worse."

How to get them interested? Use all the gimmicks in the book. In the old days, an accordion was enough. Now it's slides and sound tapes, Walkman and videos. Gimmicks are not all, but that is the way to get attention, according to Yossi Levy of the ministry's youth department. And the teacher who works with the kids has to be a social counsellor as well. Degrees in musicology don't necessarily help.

Tonight in Ashdod the programme starts with the accordion. There's no campfire, just an unheated bare room with a small stage. These aren't scouts. But the songs are of the good old campfire variety: the words are projected on a large wall on the stage. About 30 kids are sitting on folding chairs and singing. What counts, say the organizers, is regular attendance rather than the size of the group.

After the sing-along, the group divides in two. Some of them stay in the auditorium for a lecture on percussion instruments. It begins with the counsellor pounding his own body to warm up, noting that the sound he makes varies with how much "stuff" is under his pounding palms. From the sound of his belly he gets to kettle drums. He puts slides on the screen to show what the drums look like and how they work, uses a tape to demonstrate their range.

In another room about eight kids are plugged into Walkman tapes for individual work, using workbooks that explain in simple terms some of the physics behind the generation of sound how a razor blade with one edge stuck in wood vibrates, how ripples in a bowl of water resemble the propagation of sound waves. Each student goes through the material at his own pace, with the accompanying tapes. Succeeding tapes develop a more sophisticated understanding of music theory.

If Koc's viola concerto gets to the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv, how many of these students will come to hear it? Probably none. But a few may eventually be able to appreciate a recording of it.

Strange language

MUSIC / Yohanan Boehm

Klangfarben (tone colouring) idea, Ligeti's music oscillates continuously, making the irreducibility of sounds intriguing though producing the effect of static statements to which one has to get used if one wants to derive some positive experience from his musical compositions.

Melodies has, of course, nothing to do with the traditional meaning of the word. His cello concerto, likewise, is neither a concerto nor has the cello any significant contribution to make. For this part, Raphael Sommer had to come all the way from England?

The final *San Francisco Polyphony* was, after hearing it first performed, analysed by the composer, and all its layers unfolded and explained. The repeat performance may have led to a better understanding of his intentions, though it can give satisfaction only to people who can hear 20, or more, parts in heterophonous simultaneity. And who can?

Elgar Howarth directed with authority, and the orchestra gave of its best to satisfy the demands of this unfamiliar language. It was an intriguing experience for which kudos must go to the JSO management.

THE MALMO CHAMBER CHOIR, Sweden, Dea-Olof Stenlund conducting (YMCA Auditorium, Jerusalem, February 19). Choral settings by Gunter Hahn, Andreas Hallen, Lars Edlund, Eugen Suchon, Ingvar Lidholm, Erik Bergman, David Wikander, Johannes Brahms: *Seven Songs*, Opus 62.

WE HAVE been blessed recently with visits by many fine choral groups from Europe. And the latest, the Malmo Chamber Choir, is among the best.

Right from their first offering, a Gastoldi madrigal, "to try out acoustics" as the conductor said jokingly — we realized that we were in for a special treat. And, indeed, this promise was kept until the end.

This most interesting programme was dedicated to Scandinavian composers, with the exception of Eugen Suchon (born in Slovakia, 1908), and the Brahms Songs (written in 1874 on German folkloristic texts).

A strong piece, "Rondo," based on tunes from Lapland by Gunnar Hahn (born 1908, Swedish) demonstrated the vocal strength and the earthbound approach of the conductor and his chorists. Four Swedish folksongs and dances beautifully set by Andreas Hallen (1846-1925), another countryman of the choir, followed, in different

moods and a great variety of dynamics. Swedish Lars Edlund (born in 1922) contributed two equally excellent arrangements of lively Finnish tunes, contrasted with the most exciting "Povey Vetril" (Blow, Wind) by Eugen Suchon. With alto Karin Johansson as the fine soloist, all were sung with marvellous precision, liveliness and colourful shadings.

Ingvar Lidholm (Swedish-born, 1921) belongs to the generation inclined towards more contemporary language, and the rather sad four poems by Ake Nilsson in his interesting composition put the audience in a contemplative mood. This was immediately lifted by Erik Bergman (Finnish, 1911) and two of his "Gaelgeliender" (Chr. Morgenstern's "Gallow Songs"), appropriately expressing his *non-sense* verses in musical caprices. A meditative song by David Wikander (1884-1955, Swedish) of great beauty led to the Brahms, which expressed folksong sentiments in masterly choral settings.

The excellent renditions, bordering on brilliance and virtuosity without showing off or creating the impression of mechanical drill training, provided an evening of unalloyed pleasure. The enthusiastically small audience. This remarkable and memorable concert, with its high-class singing under an excellent conductor, was a splendid tribute to Scandinavian music.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE CROSSWORD PUZZLE

SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY

Minority Report

By Bert H. Kruse/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Malesko

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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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Shares unaffected by tragic death

TEL AVIV. — The tragic death of Ya'acov Levinson, the former chairman of the board of management of Bank Hapoalim, had no impact on the movement of share prices yesterday. Word of Levinson's suicide reached the public shortly after 10 a.m., but investors and speculators had already decided to re-enter the market, and according to commercial bank sources there were no cancellations of buy orders.

The market surged ahead sharply, as the General Share Index was up by 5.37 per cent, erasing a small part of the losses suffered earlier in the week. Advancing issues outpaced losers by a margin of nearly two to one, as 89 securities advanced by five per cent or more. Of these 21 were "buyers only." There were nine "sellers only," while 38 equities declined by margins of more than five per cent.

Bank shares part of the agreement with the Treasury boomed ahead with gains in some cases only slightly short of 10 per cent.

The sharp rise in prices appeared to have caught a number of observers by surprise. "We had expected a market rebound some time next week, and we certainly were surprised how well the investment community took the tragic death of Ya'acov Levinson. Not that his death could have any direct impact on prices, but the news was so shocking that it could have easily upset the market," said an analyst.

The shares of Ampal, which are traded on the American Stock Exchange and represent the equities of the company with which Ya'acov Levinson was closely associated for the past few years, traded unchanged last night when trading opened in the United States. Paradoxically, the Israel-registered shares of Bank Hapoalim advanced by 8.3 per cent.

Among the "agreement" shares those of United Mizrahi were the best performers, with a 9.6 per cent

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

upward move. Bank shares not part of the "agreement" also enjoyed advancing prices. FIBI was 7.1 per cent higher, while those of First International were established as "buyers only." Danot 1 picked up a full 10 per cent.

On balance, mortgage bank shares were ahead, Telatoh preferred gained 10 per cent, as Binyan was falling by the same figure. Jaysour 1 fell by 6.3 per cent, while its option stumbled by 16.2 per cent. Specialized financial institutions eased somewhat. Agricultural Bank A shares were 10 per cent losers, while others were unchanged or fractionally lower.

Insurance issues also could not mount any meaningful rally and wound up the session mildly lower. Ararat 0.1 was down 5.8 per cent, while the 0.5 shares fell by 9.1 per cent. Securities, however, was on the "buyers only" list.

The service and trade group put on a good show, as prices advanced broadly. Consortium 0.1 was 10 per cent higher. Others that advanced by similar figures included Galei Zohar 1 and Nikur Computers 5.

Land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues were also higher, but the rate of increases were relatively modest. Drucker 1 shares were 6.6 per cent improved, while Clal Real Estate gained 9.9 per cent. Lumir 5, on the other hand, fell by the same amount.

Israel Citrus Plantations, Sahaf Sahar Holdings 5, and Hadarim Properties were all 10 per cent higher.

Industrials were also improved. Assis and Shemen were ten per cent winners. Vardinoun, however, was

fixed as "sellers only" for the second session and was automatically dropped for a five per cent loss.

High-technology shares took part in the market reversal. Elron, after a number of losing sessions, picked up a 4.8 per cent advance. Spectronix 5 was in good form and raced ahead by ten per cent. T.A.T. 1 continued to come under selling pressures, but managed to wind up unchanged.

Construction and road building companies were lower. Hamaslul 3 was particularly hard hit, as it absorbed a 14.7 per cent loss. Tromasbestos 5 was down 7.7 per cent.

Chemical company shares were also lower, as Fertilizers 0.1 was "sellers only." Agan was unchanged, but its option was 12.5 per cent lower. The Rim Furman shares were up by 10 per cent.

Investment company equities were market leaders, as on a group basis they advanced by no less than 6.01 per cent. The shares of the Israel Corporation rose sharply, as the 1 shekel share picked up 10 per cent while the 5 shekel issue entered the "buyers only" circle. Amisur was 8.8 per cent higher. The Clal 50 shares gained 10 per cent, while Pama 0.5, a beneficiary of the sale of the Israel Corporation shares, was 9.9 per cent higher.

Oil issues were slightly higher. The shekel was devalued by 55 agorot against the dollar.

The index-linked bond market was either stable or higher, with gains of up to three per cent visible in some of the groups. The bond market, with a turnover of ISL 1 billion, was nearly half as active as the share market.

Most active stocks

IDB	4995	71,618.3m.	+400
Mizrahi	2065	68,686.0m.	+180
Lumi	2115	48,112.0m.	+130
Shares traded:		15,745.4m.	
Convertible:		1510.6m.	
Bonds:		151,138.8m.	

Commercial Banks

Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
(not part of "arrangement")			
OHH r	1750	7	n.c.
Maritime 0.1	654	2758	n.c.
Maritime 0.5	247	3169	-2
N. American 1	5717	73	-0.8
N. American 5	4108	105	n.c.
N. Am. op 1	2920	1144	-14
Danot 1	179	10	+5.1
Danot 5	120	3160	+3
Danot sc 2	286	290	-20
First Int'l 5	473	b.o.l.	-23
FIBI	420	3538	+28

Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")

Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
IDB p	107000	+400	+0.7
Hapoalim p	4995	+100	+2.0
IDB B r	5000	+300	+1.1
IDB p 11	3400	+100	+3.0
Union 0.1	3730	+58	+0.8
Discount B r	6335	+105	+0.8
Discount A r	6335	+105	+0.8
Discount B c	4800	+23	+0.5
Mizrahi r	2065	+180	+8.6
Mizrahi b	2065	+180	+8.6
Mizrahi op 11	3445	31	+0.9
Mizrahi op 12	1315	+148	+11.9
Mizrahi op 9	15000	134	+0.9
Hapoalim p	4140	1018	+8.3
Hapoalim b	3260	+122	+4.0
Hapoalim op 8	11600	9	+0.4
General A	18360	294	+0.8
General op 8	118360	294	+0.8
General op 9	7580	2	+0.1
General op 5	6300	2	+0.1
General op 1	376	65	+1.7
Leumi 0.1	2115	+130	+6.1
Leumi op 10	10	+30	+1.1
Leumi op 11	770	+152	+19.3
Finance Trade 1	2875	24	+0.8
Finance Trade 5	1502	24	+0.8
Finance Trade op	1502	24	+0.8

Mortgage Banks

Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
Adarim 0.1	1259	23	n.c.
Gen. Mortgage	1440	97	n.c.
Gen. Mortgage	1440	10	n.c.
Gen. Mortgage	1150	31	+0.3
Carmel op	555	87	+15.5
Carmel deb	180	452	n.c.
Binyan	941	94	+10.4
DevMortgage r	617	166	+17.2
DevMortgage b	631	166	+17.2
DevMortgage c	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage d	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage e	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage f	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage g	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage h	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage i	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage j	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage k	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage l	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage m	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage n	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage o	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage p	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage q	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage r	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage s	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage t	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage u	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage v	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage w	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage x	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage y	550	90	+3.5
DevMortgage z	550	90	+3.5

Financial Institutions

Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
Shilon r	145	640	n.c.
Shilon op B	1150	97	n.c.
Agriculture A	1400	10	n.c.
Agriculture C	11900	-1610	-10.0
Leumi Ind r	875	61	-5.6
Leumi Ind b	875	20	-5.6
Leumi Ind op	8000	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 4	31200	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 5	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 6	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 7	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 8	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 9	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 10	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 11	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 12	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 13	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 14	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 15	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 16	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 17	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 18	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 19	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 20	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 21	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 22	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 23	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 24	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 25	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 26	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 27	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 28	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 29	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 30	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 31	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 32	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 33	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 34	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 35	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 36	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 37	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 38	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 39	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 40	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 41	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 42	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 43	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 44	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 45	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 46	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 47	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 48	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 49	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 50	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 51	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 52	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 53	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 54	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 55	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 56	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 57	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 58	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 59	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 60	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 61	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 62	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 63	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 64	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 65	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 66	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 67	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 68	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 69	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 70	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 71	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 72	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 73	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 74	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 75	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 76	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 77	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 78	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 79	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 80	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 81	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 82	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 83	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 84	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 85	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 86	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 87	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 88	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 89	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 90	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 91	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 92	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 93	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 94	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 95	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 96	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 97	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 98	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 99	18010	4	n.c.
Leumi Ind op 100	18010	4	n.c.

Insurance

Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
Arech r	581	432	n.c.
Arech op	408	250	n.c.
Arech op deb	3500	—	—
Arech 0.1 r	727	26	-4.5
Arech 0.5 r	249	203	-23
Reinsur 0.1 r	710	2	-0.3
Reinsur 0.5 r	200	20	n.c.
Hadar 1	338	114	n.c.
Hadar 5	147	110	n.c.
Hadar op 4	632	817	n.c.
Hadar op 5	1280	706	-34
Phoenix 0.1 r	1180	101	n.c.
Phoenix 0.5 r	371	13	n.c.
Hamashmar 1	565	72	n.c.
Hamashmar 5	561	4	n.c.
Yardenia 0.1 r	700	9	n.c.
Yardenia 0.5 r	285	26	n.c.
Yardenia 0.5 r	136	146	+6.6
Yardenia op 2	85	50	-5.0
Menorah 1	1230	19	+5.4
Menorah 5	318	40	n.c.
Securities 1	1800	9	n.c.
Securities 5	210	b.o.l.	+10
Zur r	781	16	-9.1
Zion Hold. 1	390	15	n.c.
Zion Hold. 5	169	54	n.c.

Trade & Services

Sahar r	1400	9
Securities r	210	b.o.1
Zur r	781	16
Zion Hold. 1	390	15
Zion Hold. 5	169	54

Trade & Services

Trade		
Meir Ezra	276	53
Meir Ezra op	199	—
Teta 1	183	282
Teta 5	96	106
Teta op	43	268
Clal Trade	562	644
Clal Trade op	745	313
Crystal 1	171	183
Rapac 0.1	1045	29
Rapac 0.5	221	106
Supersol 2	1760	54
Supersol B 10	880	720

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How the mighty have fallen

THE METEORIC RISE to the heights of power of Ya'akov Levinson was legendary. Within five years from the day he joined Bank Hapoalim he had turned a small, parochial banking and savings chain into a powerful financial institution which soon attained a high reputation in the world of international banking. His quick grasp of complex financial transactions had helped create a powerful tool for the economic empire of the Histadrut, enhancing its growth to dimensions which the founding fathers of the labour movement would never have imagined.

He stood at the top of the labour economy for many years, wielding his authority and power over multi-billion enterprises, often attending to minute details even to the point of ruthlessness. He demanded much of himself and expected the same of both his peers and subordinates. His was a complex personality. Beneath his authoritative and sometimes rough exterior there was a sensitive and sentimental soul which valued soft cords of friendship and bonds of affection.

His drive for power and perfection often worked to his own detriment. Many colleagues and friends in whose advance in public office he was instrumental, turned into his adversaries because of his relentless demands. He fully identified with the cause to which he devoted his tireless efforts, sometimes coming close to blurring the delicate distinction between the need of the public cause he served and personal requirements.

Three times he tried to cut himself loose from his direct involvement in the business of the steadily growing bank which bore his marks in every corner and branch. But each time he found it difficult to totally sever the umbilical cord from the ultimate decision-making forum of the bank, the masterpiece of his creation.

Having grown up in a labour movement environment, he clung to what he perceived as basic ideological values even in the elegant surroundings of top executive suites. He saw his ultimate aim as leader at the national level, first as the country's future economic czar and then possibly even at the helm of the nation.

Only three years ago he was the great hope of the Labour Party on whose behalf he would extricate the country from its economic mess. In one of his rare public appearances he stole the show at the party convention, outlining a tough economic programme with a total price freeze and extensive government intervention in the nation's economy as the only way out towards economic growth. Already then — in February 1981 — he warned against the squandering elections economy which would spell the country's ruin.

But soon afterwards he stepped back from assuming full responsibility as candidate for top political office, shying away from constant public exposure. For he saw his strength in wielding power behind the scenes, where his sensitive personality could remain hidden.

The power struggle within Bank Hapoalim which eventually led to his suicide death had all the makings of a Greek tragedy. The head of the bank, Giora Gazit, who stands accused by Levinson's scathing letter of last farewell, was his own personal choice as successor to the top position of the Histadrut's powerful financial institution. With all the pain which Levinson's tragic death has caused to Gazit, he insisted that he had acted with the best of his conviction and conscience as required by public responsibility, even if this was a difficult and painful duty.

If there were allegations of irregularities and of acts beyond accepted authority, they had to be aired and properly explained, he had held throughout recent weeks as the Levinson "affair" unfolded. To link now these complex questions of banking and financial procedures to a political power struggle within the Histadrut and the Labour Party seems to be an over-simplification of the entire issue.

Levinson took his life, fully convinced of his innocence. His complex nature could not face the torment of police investigation. Rather than fighting for his full exoneration he chose to take the answers to many searching questions to his grave.

He will be buried today at Kibbutz Tzora, next to the grave of his closest friend and comrade Mussa Harif who died two years ago in a car accident. Two great hopes of the labour movement's younger generation were extinguished and we are all the poorer for it.

LABOUR FEARS

(Continued from Page One)

in the Histadrut leadership. According to some Labour pundits, Levinson fell victim to the battle to replace Yehoram Meshel as Histadrut Secretary-General.

Those who seek to replace Meshel contend that Meshel has never exercised control over the Histadrut and its many financial and commercial institutions. It is not clear, they say, who runs things, the heads of the various concerns or the elected Histadrut officials. But Meshel, according to his detractors, has prevented consideration of these issues in Labour Party forums and has thwarted any action to tighten party control over the Histadrut. Such control is now inevitable, it is argued.

MK Haim Ramon spelled it out yesterday at a stormy Labour political bureau session, when he said: "It is unthinkable that the Labour Knesset faction should be under party control but not the Histadrut and Hevrat Ha'ovdim. Levinson's suicide note is a serious accusation against the goings on in

Hevrat Ha'ovdim and all the Histadrut leadership did so far was to cover up."

As a result of such vociferous demands and in a demonstration of control over Hevrat Ha'ovdim, the Labour political bureau decided last night to freeze all appointments to Hevrat Ha'ovdim boards of directors and other top appointments until the party had deliberated the matter. This move is seen in Histadrut circles as preventing Meshel's election as head of Bank Hapoalim's board in the next few weeks.

Another possible outcome of the affair might be increased tensions between the Ihud and Me'uhad components of the United Kibbutz Movement. It is noted that one of Levinson's prominent defenders and one of the most outspoken detractors of Meshel is the Ihud's MK Avraham Katz-Oz, while Meshel and Meuhad's Danny Rosolio, head of Hevrat Ha'ovdim were instrumental in having the Levinson matter turned over to the attorney-general.

SUICIDE SHOCKS

(Continued from Page One)

stand up to the pressure" of an investigation "with all the comings and goings in front of the television cameras." Avner said that Levinson's 13-year-old son had already returned home from school in recent days complaining that fellow pupils called him (Levinson) "a thief."

Avner last spoke with Levinson following Wednesday night's television news programme after meeting with him just an hour before. "When I spoke with him after the news, he was highly emotional... but he told me that things would be all right and that I need not go back to see him," Avner said.

A setback for Shultz

By WOLF BLITZER

SECRETARY OF STATE George Shultz looked calm but had reason to be disturbed as he testified before two Senate committees this week.

As the man who has probably spent the most time dealing with the Middle East since he succeeded Alexander Haig in the summer of 1982, Shultz was frustrated and upset by the latest setbacks in Lebanon.

Aides confirmed the secretary's anger over the sloppy decision earlier in the month to remove the Marines from Beirut. Shultz had been overruled by President Ronald Reagan, who accepted the advice of Vice President George Bush, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, White House Chief of Staff James Baker and the joint chiefs of staff.

Shultz had the support of National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger and others who agreed with him that a hasty retreat from Lebanon would merely advertise U.S. impotence to the Syrians (and their Soviet backers) and encourage their continued intimidation of the Lebanese Government and others in Lebanon.

Many other U.S. foreign policy experts, including Haig and Henry Kissinger, were inclined to agree with Shultz that the long-term ramifications of a unilateral pull-back could prove negative for the United States. But the administration basically caved into domestic pressure from Democrats in Congress and others to cut its losses and run.

Shultz would probably have resigned, were this not an election year. But he remains loyal to Reagan. It would look unseemly for a second secretary of state to leave office during this first Reagan term. So Shultz is staying put — for the time being. Many observers in Washington are not expecting him to remain, should Reagan win reelection.

At his nationally televised White House news conference Wednesday night, Reagan delivered a strong statement of support for Shultz.

He said he would not accept any Shultz resignation. He even called such talk "disgraceful." The secretary, Reagan continued, has done "a splendid job. I have every confidence in him. We don't have any thoughts about his leaving."

SINCE TAKING office, Shultz has been something of an enigma to Israeli officials and their supporters in Washington — albeit a surprisingly pleasant one.

Haig, of course, had a well-earned reputation as a close friend.

Yet, after he was forced out, there was near-panic that Shultz's appointment would severely strain U.S.-Israel ties. After all, Shultz had come to Washington from the San Francisco-based Bechtel engineering and construction firm which has huge contracts in Saudi Arabia and other wealthy Arab countries. Weinberger had been brought into the administration earlier from Bechtel. And the defence secretary quickly proved to be a major thorn in Israel's side.

But Shultz, since taking office, has not toed the Weinberger line. He has impressed Israeli officials, especially Defence Minister Moshe Arens, with his willingness to be fair. Shultz does not always agree with Israel, to be sure. For one thing, he is still deeply influenced by what he sees as the humanitarian problems facing the Palestinians. But his inclination in recent months has been to work as harmoniously as possible with the Israeli government in order to ease the tensions in Lebanon and then to get on with the broader peace process.

THINGS HAVE not exactly worked out the way Shultz would have preferred. That is quite obvious. The situation in Lebanon is falling apart and the peace process is stalemated without much chance of reviving it in the near future.

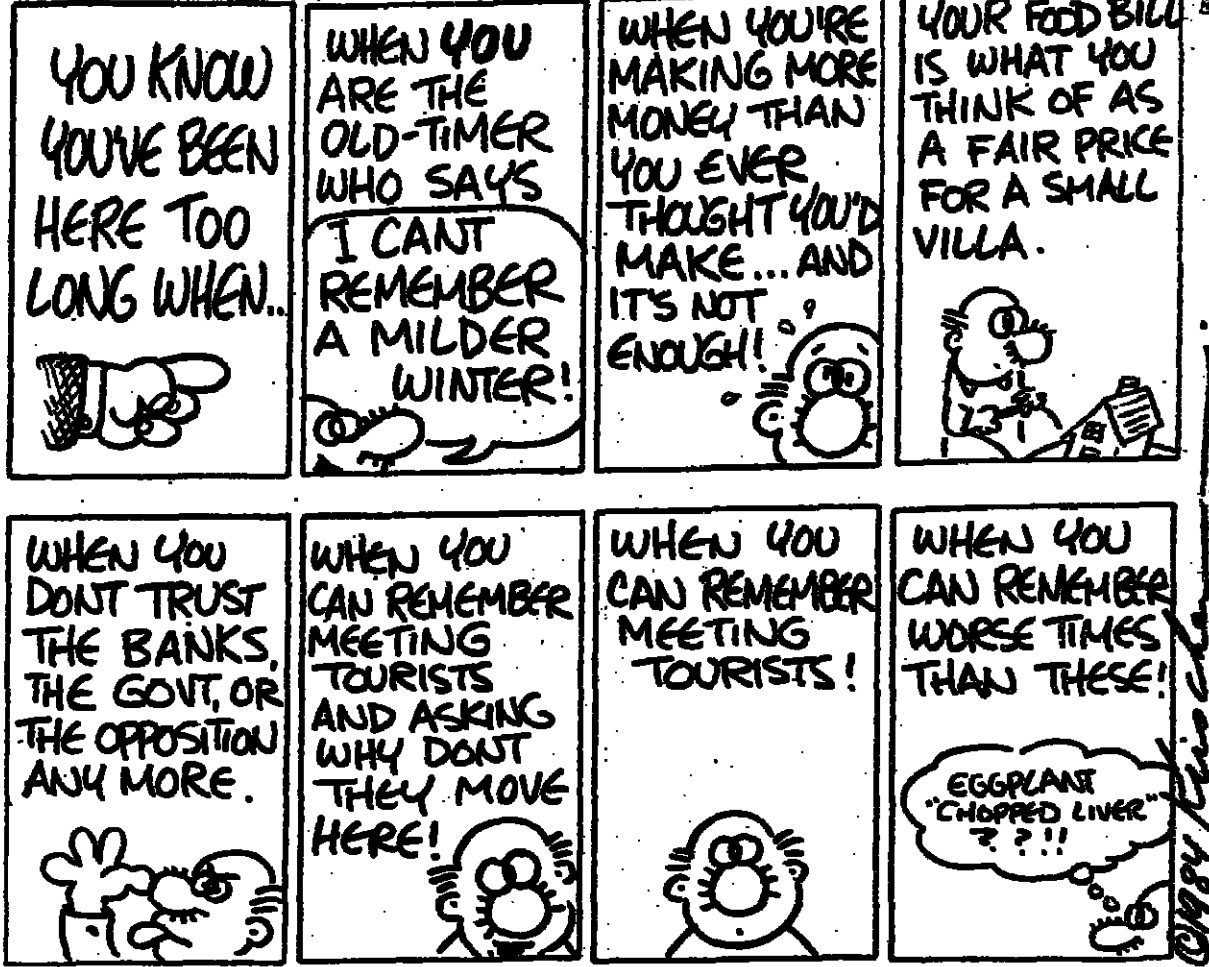
The failure in Lebanon has weakened Shultz. There have been sharp attacks against him in the U.S. news media, led by syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The deputy whip of the House of Representatives, Democratic Congressman Bill Alexander of Arkansas, has publicly called on him to resign. Shultz feels embattled: this was obvious during his congressional appearances.

Understandably, given Shultz's general support for Israel in recent months, Israeli officials are nervous about the increasing sniping against Shultz and his apparently decreasing influence within the administration.

Shultz, they say, has been a friend. If he is forced out, the next secretary of state could turn out to be more trouble for Israel, especially if — as is quite possible — he is closer to the Weinberger school of thought. (There are some insiders in Washington who maintain, by the way, that Weinberger himself would very much like to move from the Pentagon across the river to the State Department.)

That Shultz is depressed about the overall situation in Lebanon was apparent during his testimony on February 21-22 before the Senate Budget and Foreign Relations Committees. He was called to defend the

The Friday Dry Bones



administration's worldwide foreign aid proposal, but much of the questioning focused on the Middle East, especially Lebanon.

At one point, he was asked to assess Lebanon, including the chain of events which produced this debacle for the United States. His response is worth considering because it underlines his understanding of Lebanon's recent history. It also dovetails nicely with what Reagan himself has been saying in recent weeks.

Syria is very obviously the major culprit in the eyes of both Reagan and Shultz — although there is some room for questioning certain Israeli policies as well, especially the retreat from the Shouf Mountains last September.

IN RECOUNTING this troubling history, Shultz said the last 10 years had been awful in Lebanon. The PLO, he said, had created "a state within a state," leading to "a great amount of violence." The various Lebanese factions, he added, certainly shared some of the blame. But Syria's "massive presence" in Lebanon, he continued, made things even worse.

Shultz said the administration had opposed Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Still, whether one agreed or disagreed with that Israeli decision, the fact remains that after the PLO had been "cleansed from most of the country, gigantic quantities of arms" were discovered — as were records documenting the PLO's "ties to the Soviet Union."

During the Israeli drive into Lebanon, Syria's army had been "badly beaten." It was then that the

Syrians assured the U.S., Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and others that it would pull out of Lebanon as soon as Israel left. "They told me and many others that," Shultz said.

That resulted in the U.S. decision to promote an Israeli-Lebanese agreement which would result in an Israeli pullback. Unfortunately, Shultz said, that negotiation "took a long time. I wish it would have been done faster." But, he explained, Reagan announced the "redemption" of the Marines to ships off the Lebanese coast.

"What is happening now does not resemble what we wanted to happen," Shultz said. "I regret to say that we haven't achieved our objectives."

Syria may continue to pay lip-service to Lebanon's sovereignty, Shultz said, but the Syrian intimidation of all the various players in the Lebanese drama has made "a mockery" of that Syrian concern.

Syria is not opposed to the May 17 accord — it simply opposes any Arab country moving toward peace with Israel.

There was a hint of renewed fighting between Israel and Syria, as Shultz insisted the Syrians were simply wrong in believing that Israel could be forced by domestic politics to leave Lebanon unilaterally.

In the meantime, Shultz is plodding ahead. Like Reagan, he is speaking of trying to revive the broader Arab-Israeli peace process. But the secretary's heart no longer appears to be in the job. And that represents a bet lost not only for the United States, but also for Israel.

The writer is the Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

TV PROGRAMMES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Why, oh why, are the best programmes screened so late at night? After a hard day's work, it's no fun nodding off during dry, plodding political, economic and similar non-cheerful matters to wake up cramped and fuzzy after it's all over. Everyone would agree that 8 to 9 p.m. is prime viewing time, family viewing time. Why are we subjected to "Love American Style," an insult to anyone's intelligence. "The Love Boat" and "Rhoda" were at least occasionally entertaining; this offering does not have one redeeming feature. And to think that in today's economic climate, Israel TV is actually paying for programmes of such calibre. Surely a series like "Massada" is far more appropriate for parents and children to watch together?

RUTH COHEN
DENISE KIRSCH
GABY NACHTOMI
JOAN WHITESON

Ra'anana

Sir, — Now that we are to be blessed with summer saving time, I suggest that the next thing we can do that will also a) save money, b) give pleasure, and c) increase productivity, all with a minimum, if any, negative effect, is to finish TV broadcasting at 10.30 or 11 p.m. We could then watch those terrific things that now start at 10.30, as well as do productive work next day.

EVELYN PAUKER
Jerusalem.

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It is a deplorable fact that, today, a large proportion of the West German population has turned what can safely be called anti-Israeli. And it has not always been so. In the sixties and seventies, many young Germans were genuinely sympathetic towards Israel, but have since changed their minds.

Israel's policy towards the Arabs has certainly contributed towards this about-face throughout the world. In Germany, it is, however, not the only cause of anti-Israeli sentiment. Rather, it appears that resentment is now coming to the surface which has been repressed all along. The Germans have never really had a chance to digest and overcome their historic burden. The Nazi era has left a great trauma in people's minds; first they were told to hate others, then they were told to hate themselves, and it would have taken a tremendous amount of insight into the working of human nature to understand, let alone digest, what had happened. The same goes for the Jews, who are also still suffering from the trauma of persecution.

In the decades after World War II, people were made to admit to sins and crimes which they didn't really feel to be such (otherwise they would not have committed them in the first place.) Israel and

KOHL'S VISIT

Jewry throughout the world have never ceased to point at the Germans and to remind them of their sins. While this is certainly understandable, it has not contributed towards anything like relaxed and friendly relations between our peoples. Indeed, it is to be feared that the Jewish people do not really want friendly relations with the German post-war generation.

While hardly any German would have dared come out openly in favour of the Nazis in the decades gone by, this is no longer so. The Germans have regained their self-assurance and it is good that it is so. It is a vital part of people's self-confidence that they should be able to determine their own policy, which was not the case for many years. To put it bluntly, people in this country are tired of being blackmailed because of their past.

In this situation, the worst thing any Israeli leader can do is to appeal to Germany's bad conscience. This was unfortunately exactly what Prime Minister Shamir was trying to do. While it was simply shocking to hear Chancellor Kohl and his wife ask trivial questions at Yad Vashem, it was also painful to hear Mr. Shamir convert what should have

been a welcome address into a tribunal for his guest.

Facts are facts, and one of them is that Germany does not need Israel, but Israel does need Germany's support. It cannot afford to have this country for an enemy, which it will if it continues to "rub it in" instead of letting the dead bury the dead and look to the future as a real chance to develop friendly relations with the non-Jewish nations including Germany. If the Jews start to extend their hands instead of dwelling on the past, then there is a possibility, but only then.

Munich. WILTRUD BOSL

PENFRIENDS

BRAIN SEGAL (39), of 101 Bona Vista, 81 Bellevue Road, Durban 4001, South Africa, is a Certified Internal Auditor who would like to correspond with an Israeli woman between the ages of 23 and 30. He is interested in finance, computers, wildlife and the Middle East.

Tel Aviv.

JABOTINSKY MOVEMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The recently formed Association of Friends and Sympathisers of the Jabotinsky Movement wishes to contact all past and present members from South Africa now domiciled in Israel.

The aims of the association are to renew old friendships, to offer guidance and assistance to olim, and to provide an interesting range of activities of a cultural, social and intellectual nature.

Mrs. N. Heim and Miss D. Marcus, the joint secretaries, would be happy to hear from all those interested. Please phone Mrs. Heim at 03-753468 or Miss Marcus in the evening at 03-258533, or write to the Association, Room 713, Beka Jabotinsky, 38 King George Street, Tel Aviv 63298.

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